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ABSTRACT

This survey includes programs that are designed for elementary and high school students and which (1) refrain from "institutionalized coercion," (2) de-emphasize traditional curriculum, (3) eliminate dependence on competition and encourage authentic self-motivation, (4) emphasize individual abilities and character rather than formal training in the recruitment of teachers, and (5) eliminate rigid age and grade level separation of students. Based on these criteria, 346 private schools are included, 38 of which were accorded site visits and/or telephone interviews. The body of this report centers around five topics: (1) descriptions, models, and growth of alternative schools; (2) growth patterns, developmental phases, and survival rates; (3) conventional functions of unconventional schools and their programs, governance, finances, and legal positions; (4) the future of alternative schools and their impact on conventional schools and communities. Three appendixes provide data on alternative schools, names of the schools visited and contacted, and a selected bibliography. (For related document, see ED 058 473.) (Author/MLF)

ED 058 499

Free And Freedom Schools: A National Survey of Alternative Programs

AA 000 803

SUBMITTED TO President's Commission on School Finance

THIS IS ONE OF SEVERAL REPORTS PREPARED FOR THIS COMMISSION. TO AID IN OUR DELIBERATIONS, WE HAVE SOUGHT THE BEST QUALIFIED PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS TO CONDUCT THE MANY STUDY PROJECTS RELATING TO OUR BROAD MANDATE. COMMISSION STAFF MEMBERS HAVE ALSO PREPARED CERTAIN REPORTS.

WE ARE PUBLISHING THEM ALL SO THAT OTHERS MAY HAVE ACCESS TO THE SAME COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF THESE SUBJECTS THAT THE COMMISSION SOUGHT TO OBTAIN. IN OUR OWN FINAL REPORT WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ADDRESS IN DETAIL EVERY ASPECT OF EACH AREA STUDIED. BUT THOSE WHO SEEK ADDITIONAL INSIGHTS INTO THE COMPLEX PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION IN GENERAL AND SCHOOL FINANCE IN PARTICULAR WILL FIND MUCH CONTAINED IN THESE PROJECT REPORTS.

WE HAVE FOUND MUCH OF VALUE IN THEM FOR OUR OWN DELIBERATIONS. THE FACT THAT WE ARE NOW PUBLISHING THEM, HOWEVER, SHOULD IN NO SENSE BE VIEWED AS ENDORSEMENT OF ANY OR ALL OF THEIR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS. THE COMMISSION HAS REVIEWED THIS REPORT AND THE OTHERS BUT HAS DRAWN ITS OWN CONCLUSIONS AND WILL OFFER ITS OWN RECOMMENDATIONS. THE FINAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSION MAY WELL BE AT VARIANCE WITH OR IN OPPOSITION TO VIEWS AND RECOMMENDATIONS CONTAINED IN THIS AND OTHER PROJECT REPORTS.

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"The preoccupation with order and control, the slavish adherence to the timetable, the absence of noise and movement, the joylessness and repression, the universality of the formal lecture or teacher dominated 'discussion' in which the teacher instructs the entire class as a unit, the emphasis on the verbal and the de-emphasis of the concrete, the inability of students to work on their own, the dichotomy between work and play--none of these are necessary; all can be eliminated.

Charles Silberman, Crisis in the Classroom

Free and Freedom Schools

A National Survey of Alternative Programs

by

Bruce S. Cooper

A Report to the President's Commission on School Finance

November 1971.

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In a rather harried national survey, one is thrown upon the mercy of those around him. Thanks are due to three groups of people: those you work with, those you live with, and those whom you are studying. In the first group, I am forever grateful to Professor Don Erickson who guided me through the proposal, data gathering, and writing stages; to Ray Boileau and Janet Shedd who directed me from the Commission Office in Washington, D.C.; and the President's Commission on School Finance who cared enough to commission the study.

In group two, I think of my wife and family who found me unbearable: but Nancy, Phoebe and Jessica survived, with only minor damage, living with a flustered plane chaser. Peter Lewis, a friend indeed, rescued this researcher in the final stages by his suggestions and support. And Carol Feingold (and her suffering family) typed the final draft from the rough one which resembled a cryptographer's downfall.

And to the free and freedom school people, the subject of the study, I owe thanks for being interviewed and observed. By name I mention a few who come to mind, apologizing to those overlooked: on the West coast, Joan Levinson of Bay High, Berkeley, and Jean Jessner of the Network; in Wisconsin, Donna Zegarowicz of Wintergreen School, Madison; and Bob Graf of The Independent Learning Center, Milwaukee; in New York, Anita Moses, who took me in and opened doors throughout the

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city; Ed Carpenter of Harlem Prep and Judy McCauley of E. Harlem Block Schools, who both explained the freedom schools so well. I would like to mention two students--free school freaks--who spent their days guiding my tour of their areas: Jeremy Rubinstein of Bay High, Berkeley, and Jeremy Kramer of Santa Barbara Community School.

And to Allen Graubard, a friend, a colleague, and a mentor, I have saved for last. He gave willingly of his time, of the information he had gathered for the New Schools Directory Project, and of his brilliance. Without all of these, this study would have been severely limited.

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November 12, 1971

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I
Introduction

In the last five years the United States has experienced a remarkable growth in the number of radical alternative schools. The increasing popularity of this new educational form stands as a reminder of the pervasive problems of public education. Thousands of parents, students, and teachers, oppressed by the mindless bureaucracy of public education and motivated by a common counter-ideology, are taking direct and radical action by operating private alternative schools. This report intends to portray the already fertile reality of the alternative school movement.

There are presently 350 alternative schools in thirty-nine states. These schools serve a small number of participants--perhaps 12,500 students, 4,500 staff and volunteers--

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as an experiment in radical living and education. Each of the schools is sustained by the passionate commitment of a small coterie of individuals whose only common bond would appear to be the diversity of their views. The survey reveals, however, that there exists within this diversity a common ideology composed of three factors: a willful rejection of the conventional school system; a sharing of the consummate belief that freedom in education can be put into practice; and an active affirmation of self-determination instead of a passive reliance upon the public system.

The schools themselves differ widely in structure and purpose, yet they too share common characteristics of which two general patterns may be discerned. The first, the free school program, is designed to meet the needs of middle-class children by establishing unstructured educational efforts. The second, the freedom schools, are programs for poor, urban communities in their efforts to control the education of their children. Free schools provide a respite from the competitive and manipulative system, in which Eric Fromm has said, "The individual becomes merely a cog in a machine" while he is "transformed into the consumer, the eternal suckling, whose one wish is to consume more and 'better' things."[1]

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[1]Eric Fromm, Preface to A.S. Neill's Summerhill: A Radical Approach to Child Rearing, (New York: Hart Publishing, 1960).

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For the poor, the freedom school provides an opportunity for experiments in community self-determination and control. For the children of the poor, these programs provide the vital skills and experience in urban living--performed within the culture of their community.

Our survey is of a particular type: it includes only programs for youngsters of elementary and high school age.* It takes in only those schools which meet certain philosophical and operational criteria. Some "identify themselves self-consciously as 'free schools,'" some are street academies controlled by their respective neighborhoods, some are attempting to change society while others are merely creating their own personalized communities. Whatever their philosophy, they were included by Mr. Graubard in the Directory and in this report if they (1) refrained from "institutionalized coercion," (2) de-emphasized traditional curriculum," (3) eliminated "dependence on competition and encouraged authentic self-motivation," (4) emphasized individual abilities and character"--not formal training--in the recruitment of teachers, and (5) eliminated "rigid age and grade-level separation of students."[2] Using these criteria, 346 private schools are included in this report. Undoubtedly, a few were missed, particularly those founded in 1971. Also several have folded

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*which fulfill the child's compulsory education requirement.

[2]"New Schools: A National Directory of Alternative Schools," Allen Graubard, ed., (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Center for Law and Education, 1971), 7-9.

since these data were compiled, for example, The Thoreau School, Madison, Wisconsin. Others on close examination may not be radical or even unconventional. But all things considered, these schools are the result of the best effort thus far to survey these new programs.

This report cannot be considered a comprehensive survey of Black freedom schools. These programs escape our all-out efforts for a number of reasons: many function not as substitutes for regular schools, but as a parallel program. Students attend a public school during the day and participate in freedom classes after school and on weekends. Some are "underground" or at least are closed to researchers. Others are so unorganized as to be indistinguishable from other service-agency programs. In any case, we make no claims to covering all the nation's freedom programs.

This report includes, secondarily, several public alternative schools.[3] The purpose was to understand possible interrelationships between public and private efforts. Understanding this relationship enables us in any given community to see the effects of mutual cooperation between public and private alternatives and the effects of intense competition between them. We were not able to survey more of the public innovations, for this would have required another study. We are also unable to compare results of alternative education

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[3]For listing of public alternatives, see Appendix, "Schools Contacted or Visited."

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with those of conventional programs. Freedom (community) schools have data on college entrance and reading levels. They show excellent results in these areas. For free however, we cannot specify results. Hopefully, we shall have some research into the outcomes of non-structured, non-authoritarian education in both the cognitive and affective areas.[4]

Methodology: This study uses a series of approaches to the diverse subject of radical alternative schools. First. to provide a national picture, we shall collate and analyze survey data recently compiled by Allen Graubard for the National Directory Project, These data permit us to see the number. location, student-staff makeup, etc. of alternative schools. Second, from this list of schools, this researcher chooses thirty-eight different schools for site visits and/or telephone interviews.

There were four purposes for these visits: (1) to observe the physical layout of these schools: e.g. facilities, use of space, equipment, etc.: (2) to observe the interaction of students, staff, and parent volunteers during a school day; (3) to interview parents, students, and staff concerning the founding of the school, its program, its problems, its needs, and its successes; and (4) to gather documents on the school

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[4]See George Dennison's, The Lives of Children: The Story of the First Street School, (New York: Random House, 1969), for a personal evaluation of children's emotional growth in a free school.

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such as newsletters, funding proposals, statements of philosophy, course catalogs, and other printed matter.

Finally, a comparison is made between the events in the field and the philosophy of the "movement" as expressed by the popular writers such as Kozol, A.S. Neill, and Kohl.

The structure of this report is (1) to present descriptions of alternative schools, grouping them into six types. (2) Some comparisons are drawn among the six. (3) The data from the national survey is presented explaining the distribution, location, and characteristics of the schools. (4) A picture is presented of the growth and development of schools, culminating with a discussion of the survival rates. (5) Some conventional ways of looking at schools--finances, governance, and legal considerations--are used to examine these unconventional schools. And (6) a summary is presented showing the impact on conventional schools and communities.

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II
A Description of Free & Freedom Schools

FREE SCHOOLS

Free schools are programs which present alternatives in education which will enable adults and young people to live and learn together without fear or hostility. "Discipline, dogmatically imposed, will be minimized, permitting the child to grow and develop."[1] Institutional sanctions such as grades, retention, and testing are removed.

These new schools minimize the role asymmetry between adult and child, professional and layman. The teacher as maker and enforcer of arbitrary rules and regulations, and the student as unquestioning follower, are antithetical to free schools. These relationships are symbolic of the way conventional school systems "prepare individuals to be obedient employees and willing consumers."[2] The common belief is that only by

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[1]See A.S. Neill's Summerhill: A Radical Approach to Child Rearing, (New York: Hart Publishing, 1960).

[2]See Erich Fromm, Preface to Neill's Summerhill, x-xiii.

releasing both teacher and student from their traditional roles of Omniscient Giver (teacher) and Mindless Receiver (pupil) can education become free from its hidebound task as an agency of social control

Free schools attempt to "open the classroom" by removing lock-step procedures that restrict the students to a specific activity at a particular place and time. Kohl suggests that teachers traditionally have been "obsessed with control" treating the child as though he "were a reckless, unpredictable, immoral, and dangerous enemy."[3] Traditional over-management of the student's deportment and learning activities in the public system leads to a student's boredom and slow intellectual death. Kohl pictures the conventional classroom milieu as a "funnel," which restricts the child's growth and natural curiosity, squeezing him "into an ever-narrowing circle; at the end, there is room for a single set of right answers."[4] It is the freeing up of the classroom activities which forms a central tenet of free schools.

These schools attempt to integrate the lives of participants in an effort to destroy what are perceived as false barriers between home and school, family and community, study and relaxation, and public and private life. Not only is the conventional school divided into arbitrary segments such as

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[3]Herbert Kohl, The Open Classroom: A Practical Guide to a New Way of Teaching, (New York: A New York Review Book, 1969), 14.

[4]Herbert Kohl, 36 Children, (New York: Signet, 1967), 36.

"grade levels," subject areas, departments, elementary, junior, and senior high schools, and periods, but also the life of the child is trichotimized into "family," "school," and "society." Free schools bring the lives of children together into one natural organic experience, both within the school and between school and the rest of life.[5] Thus, the integration of life for children may mean that they should live, play, work, study, and be aware within a single milieu. And within the free school setting, people are viewed as complete people: teacher is also parent is also spouse is also adult; and student is also son/daughter is also friend is also child.

Free schools embrace the romantic notion that "children have a style of learning that fits their condition, which they use naturally until we train them out of it."[6] This view of child psychology reinforces the free school belief that role authority should be de-emphasized, that age groupings should be as natural as possible, resembling the family, perhaps, and that the structure of the program should be free and open.

A final characteristic of free schools is their awareness of the common ideology. Members ascribe to a similar ideology that shapes their reality and their behavior. Schools may disagree on certain issues, but they are unified in their common disillusionment with conventional education. This theme

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[5]Sylvia Ashton-Warner, "Organic Teaching," from Teacher, (London: Simon and Schuster and Secker and Warburg, 1963).

[6]John Holt, How Children Learn, (New York: Pitman, 1967), vii.

is also reflected in the literature of the alternative school movement. [Herbert Kohl and Jonathan Kozol, for example, center their attacks on the ghetto child's "death at an early age" from a system obsessed by control. Paul Goodman condemns the rigidity of the entire system of "compulsory miseducation."] It is this ideology, which we shall discuss later, that distinguishes these alternative schools from other innovative programs.

FREEDOM SCHOOLS

Freedom schools, though they react to many of the same dysfunctions of conventional educational programs as do free schools, perform a different function in a different way. Unlike their middle-class counterparts, freedom schools are less concerned about individual freedom and its educational corollary--open, unstructured classrooms. Rather they stress community power, academic skill-building, and mastery of the tools of survival in urban environments. As one black freedom school leader explained,

> We've had the togetherness! We were brought up in 'communes,' by aunts, brothers, and grandmothers. In other words, we've got soul. What we want now is gold. To get it, we must have skills, tools and the resources to use them. Freedom [as defined by free school advocates] to us is meaningless unless we have the essentials of life, not only for ourselves, but for our brethren.[7]

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[7]Field notes, Chicago Urban Life Center, October 25, 1971.

Freedom schools are rooted in minority community development. "As a community center," Preston R. Wilcox of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Development and Services Corporation has written,

> The school takes on the coloration of a freedom school. It becomes: (1) the facility where the community begins to meet its latent needs for recreation and fun; (2) the place where the community begins to formalize its efforts to express itself through art, music, drama, etc.; (3) the locale for shaping community policy as it relates to housing, traffic, health, education, and other social issues; and (4) the arena for developing and implementing mutual-aid programs designed to aid the less fortunate in dealing with their problems.[8]

Unlike the free school, the freedom school may be the only social organization available to ghetto families. It teaches the rudimentary skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic in the most economical way possible. It seeks to build ethnic pride and dignity, preparing the child and the community to participate in the labors of citizenship and workmanship. These tasks are performed by the maximization of community involvement which Wilcox described in terms of eleven features of the community-centered school:[9]

1. Power is shared among professional and lay participants in varying degrees with ultimate authority resting with the community.

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[8]Preston R. Wilcox, "The Community-centered School," in Radical School Reform, Ronald and Beatrice Gross, (eds.), (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971), 129.

[9]Ibid., 132-137.

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2. Bridging structures are built to involve other community groups.

3. The roles of residents are re-defined as "foster teachers" to aid students and their families and to be "advocates for the community."

4. Parents' clubs are formed to support the school.

5. Parent-student linkages are encouraged.

6. Mutual-aid societies deal with community and school problems.

7. Economic developments like credit unions and buying cooperatives create economic awareness.

8. Legislative actions involve the community and the local representatives in efforts to influence the governmental processes.

9. Information and communication services alert the community to important issues at school and elsewhere.

10. The school-community process establishes a means of cooperation in operating the school and attacking problems throughout the community.

11. Student-to-student processes teach group decision-making and student self-help.

Freedom schools take on various organizational structures in their efforts to fulfil community needs: street academies, store-front schools, and preparatory schools.

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Six Models of Alternative Schools

The following scenarios are based upon the composite characteristics of numerous schools falling within each of six rough categories. No school fits perfectly any one of these models; however, the purpose of these six mini-case studies is to clarify concepts that will assist the later discussion of alternative education.

1. Parent-teacher Cooperative School: Many middle-class parents believe that they have the resources to educate their own children; keeping their children at home is one alternative. But what about the opportunities for group interaction? Answer: a loose, parent-run program is created for children ages 4 to 11. A building is secured, materials gathered, and schedules established for rotating the "staff" role among the families. Each parent contributes so many hours per week either in the "classroom" or after hours doing the myriad of tasks necessary for keeping the school operational: building rooms and equipment, cleaning and straightening. Decisions are shared among the whole cooperative. Often after several months, parents realize the need for a "full-time coordinator" who may also have some expertise they lack: e.g. reading instruction. A professional is hired from outside the families involved; then another. At some point, a working arrangement is established between the authority of the hired staff and parents. In some cases, parents hand the school over to the teachers--reserving powers over hiring, firing, and major policy. In others, teachers and parents continue to share running the school: parents on a part-time basis, teachers full-time.

The Cooperative resembles the "open classroom" with rooms or areas of rooms created for reading--a library; a science corner with terraria, animals, simple lab equipment, etc.; a math corner with measuring devices, Cuisenaire rods, the Dienes multibase materials, Stern rods, and attribute or logical blocks; fantasy play areas with old adult clothing for dress-ups, sand tables, and playhouses; and importantly a rough-play area separated from the rest of the school. Here children can run off their energy on small sliding boards, climbing apparatus, and riding toys. Children are free to move from area to area at will.

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The Parent-Teacher Cooperative runs on tuition only, usually a sliding scale from about $300 to $700 per year. Often a portion of the funds is set aside for "scholarships" for a few minority-group children. As the children age out of the school, parents may decide to add a new grade each year, or to send their children to a free high school, rather than returning them to conventional educational programs . . . .

2. Community Freedom School: Often growing out of an existing anti-poverty program or other social welfare agency the community-centered school begins by using some outside funding to create a school for children in the surrounding neighborhood. Teachers and "administrators" are hired, facilities secured, parent boards established, and children recruited. Parents perform multiple roles: as "foster teachers," board members, home-school liaisons, and school office workers.

The role of professional is seen as someone with expertise, who is given autonomy to do his job--with final authority resting with the community board. The program stresses skill-building and ethnic identity. Classroom procedures are more "traditional" in that teachers present material often in lecture form; students respond with questions and recitations. The learning of fundamental skills such as reading, composition, and arithmetic form the core of the academic curricula. In the non-academic areas, arts, crafts, drama centered around the culture of the community are important to the growth of identity and pride.

Since the neighborhood has been designated a Model Cities area, federal funds are available through a variety of programs. Follow Through, a sequel to Headstart, contributes for the younger students, drug education and Safe Streets money is received for the older ones. Occasionally, private companies and charities give financial support as well. As further needs become apparent, funds are added to expand the program. A pre-school (Headstart) becomes an elementary school (Follow Through). Adult literacy sessions are added. A nursery and day care program are created with support from state and city funds. As these

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programs proliferate, the need for coordination leads to a series of jobs, often filled by neighborhood people: Executive Director, Program Directors, Parent Coordinators, etc.

The freedom school is more political than its middle-class counterparts. It reflects the needs and concerns of the community. School leaders are community leaders. They are looked to by the neighborhood as the spokesmen on socio-political issues. Local and city-wide politicians drop by to support the program while hoping to pick up some support. When problems do occur in the community, the school is one of the first places residents call. . . .

3. Therapeutic School: The school was created with the problems of atypical children in mind. Within a supportive, structured milieu, emotionally disturbed children live and learn together. Children are given maximum freedom to explore and learn in an "open" environment. The staff are all trained clinicians, who watch for signs of anxiety or hyper-aggression. They take steps to redirect or, if necessary, to isolate a child who cannot cope with the classroom situation.

All staff are members of the psychological institute and are trained in a particular form of psycho-therapy. This insures that a unified philosophy and modus operandi will be presented to the students. Beside their clinical training, the staff use non-authoritarian approaches to child rearing in general and to treatment in particular. The purpose of the program is to build "controls from within" for children who have difficulty dealing with outside reality. This "teaching" is accomplished by the minimum of staff control, relying instead on the peer group to handle many of its own problems. When intervention is necessary, the process is self-consciously employed not as a punitive device but as a means of group learning.

The school was begun by the institute as a training and treatment center. Parents are only slightly involved, mostly in educational and support groups, with social workers, for their own needs and information. The school

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is administered by a director, a Ph.D. in clinical child psychology, who is accountable to the director of the institute. The board of the institute is comprised of some staff and some influential laymen.

The school is expensive, except for a few positions kept open to welfare agencies and the courts. The cost per pupil is $1500 a year for a five day program. . . .

4. Free High School: Five students, ages fourteen to seventeen, began meeting in the evenings. Their constant theme was the oppressiveness of the local public high school. They decided gradually that they should open their own school, one where rules would be made in concensus, not autocratically by men on high. A few trusted adults were notified of their plans. Next they had long talks with their parents: many were against pulling out; but they figured at last that any "school" was better than no school at all. Others were all in favor and began to raise funds. The students chose a site--an old warehouse--, recruited three adults as resource people and coordinators, and planned the program.

The adults would make up a catalog of interest areas in which they would like to offer a course. Students could then choose or suggest additions. Any courses not selected by students were simply dropped. Offerings ranged from yoga to micro-biotic cooking.

The school was governed on two levels. The workaday operation was guided by the entire school community. Students and staff met weekly. The long-range planning and major fiscal arrangements were handled by a board made up of four parents, four staff and four students. Hiring of staff occurred at both levels; the whole in-school group interviewed and recommended to the board the teachers they wanted.

The program was a series of sessions in which students took classes linked together by individual activities in arts and crafts, music, and writing. When students weren't working on a project, they met one another informally in "the space" which was the largest room in the school . . . .

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5. Public Alternative School: A number of other school systems had "opportunity centers" which were working effectively. So the assistant superintendent for instruction decided to press for one in his district. He sketched out a proposal under Title I, ESEA: a poverty pocket . . . . 50 % high school dropout rate . . . pressure from civil rights and reform groups for some innovations. He took the outline to his boss who gave him the go-ahead. The proposal was submitted to the area office of the Office of Education. It requested $100,500 for the establishment of The Opportunity Center for 100 students, all who had a record of truancy, failure, and/or "adjustment problems."

The grant was approved. A director was hired, a man who had been interested in "problems of minority groups" for many years. Teachers who volunteered were hired as staff: nine men and women who were all certified teachers in the system. The system rented a five-room church school. With some minor rennovations, the building was ready for occupancy. Students were recruited only from poverty areas, in keeping with the guidelines of ESEA. They came from two high schools in the area.

The program consisted of two components: fundamental skill building in the areas of communication and arithmetic, social studies, and some high interest courses in urban affairs, the legal system, and ethnic history for the Latins and blacks who wanted it. Second, a half-day of jobs in the community, either with merchants and manufacturers, or in social welfare agencies or elementary schools. This was designed to acquaint students with the career opportunities available as well as to earn some money for them.

Governance came at three levels: (1) the parents in the community were elected to an Advisory Board by the members of that community. The Board met monthly to discuss the school's program. Lists of teachers and administrators (from the list of certified personnel) were presented to the Board; they would choose three for each position open at The Opportunity Center; the superintendent was required to hire from the list prepared by the Board. (2) The students had a Council to handle in-school policy such as rules around the school. And (3) the district school board had final authority on all matters concerning the school, but rarely interfered with the parent or student group's deliberations.

The atmosphere around the center was relaxed as students attended sessions or went to their jobs. The high spot of the week was the School Meeting, held Friday morning in which all 100 students, staff, and administrators met to discuss problems and to make recommendations either to the Council or staff.

6. Residential Free School: The founder of the school believed that education should be a totalistic experience. Living and learning should be contained within a single milieu. Furthermore, a wide age-range of students--7 to 18--was included to increase the family-like atmosphere of the program. All nine of the staff and forty of the fifty students live on the premises; the remaining ten are "day students" from neighboring towns.

The setting is rural. Located on 30 acres of land, the only signs of civilization are the twelve structures the school has built plus the two buildings which belonged to the original owner. The staff live in apartments; the students in a set of cabins; the cafeteria doubles as a recreation room with classes, crafts, and drama housed in the basement. The buildings show signs of wear; yet there is a sense of pride since most of the structures were built by the staff and students, with a parent (architect) drawing up the plans.

The program resembles the urban free school, except that life is holistic for everyone concerned. Staff offer courses, based on their commitments and interests. Students may or may not attend; they may take advantage of what is offered or create a course of their own. The high-spot of each term, as one might expect, is the field trip program. Older students strike out for points afar, loosely linking their destination with some "academic" interest. Younger students band together with staff using the school vans for more structured excursions usually to urban centers. Student exchanges, similarly offer these rural dwellers the opportunity to get into a city for a few months; to reciprocate, the school accepts a few students from their urban counterpart.

The students resemble a band or tribe more than upper-middle-class kids. The life out-of-doors, with no regulations as to bathing or grooming, gives the school a primitive beauty. As visitors to Summerhill (the prototype of the residential free school) have commented, the students have the natural self-assuredness of living independently with self-regulation. Since the program is similar for boys and girls, there are few roles being played. Boys have a gentleness and kindness about them; the girls are tough and self-assured.

The closedness of life has its disadvantages as well. There is no "going home" from problems, as is the case with the day school. Emotions run high, especially when the out-of-doors is unavailable, as during harsh weather. Minor incidents are escalated to earth-shaking dimensions in the microcosm of life at school. Students

(as do some staff) develop elaborate rituals for attaining privacy: walks at certain times of day; retreat into unused rooms--though there are few--or simply daydreaming, a tuning-out process.

Decisions are made jointly: new staff are interviewed by all 59 people. Voting "in" involves a 2/3 majority. There is a "paper" board of directors, mainly for legal and fund-raising purposes.

One final difficulty is recruiting a diverse student group. Fees are $2,500 to $2,900 a year for the boarders, $700 to $900 for the day students. Only three full scholarships are available, while 20 % of the students receive some reductions. Currently, there are no minority group students enrolled in the school. . . .

These six types of schools represent the basic differences among alternative schools included in this report. As we shall see in the next section, the middle-class free schools (Residential, Parent-Teacher Coop, Therapeutic, and Free High School) comprise 81% of the total number in our sample; the community schools (Freedom School), 19%.

A2927

Growth of Alternative Schools: 346 private free and freedom schools are included in this survey. The range of founding dates is from 1971 back to 1891. The oldest school included is the Margaret Sibley School for Educational Research and Demonstration, Plattsburgh, New York. It has 275 children, ages 5 to 15. It charges no tuition as part of the state university system.

Figure 1 shows the remarkable growth of schools in the last two years. Two thirds were founded in 1970 and 1971, (194 schools), with new schools still opening or being located.

Number of New Schools

Founded by Year (1957-1971)

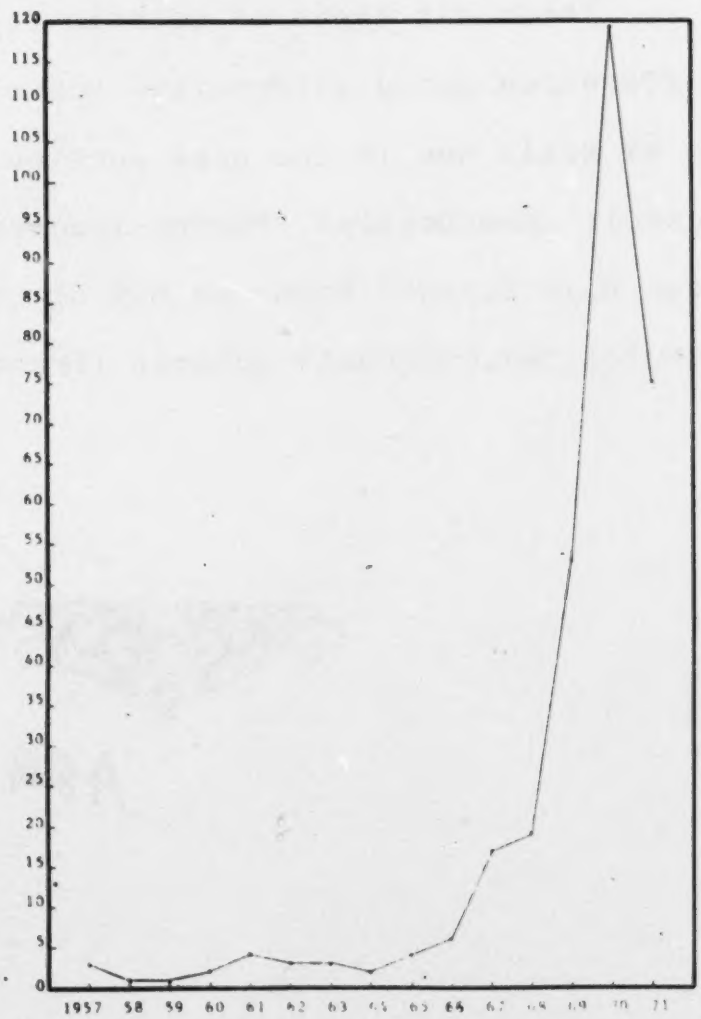


Figure 1.

Previous to 1957, five schools fulfilling "free school" criteria had been opened and are still functioning as of 1971. Table 1 shows the growth by year from 1957.

Year	No. of schools	Year	No. of schools
1891 - 1956	5	1965	4
1957	3	1966	6
1958	1	1967	17
1959	1	1968	19
1960	2	1969	53
1961	4	1970	119
1962	3	1971	75 (first 2 mo. of this academic year.)
1963	3		
1964	2		

Table 1. Growth by Year, 1957-71

The data for the academic year 1971-72 is not yet complete. Several schools like Alternative High School, New Orleans, plan to open in January of this academic year.

This increase in schools--from 46 in 1967 to 436 in 1970--is made even more dramatic when compared to the gradual increase in conventional independent school growth. Figures supplied by the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS) during the period 1964-1971 indicate a slackening of pupil enrollment increases, during the period 1969-1971:

Annual Enrollment Increases[10]

1964-65	2.3% increase	1968-69	3.3% increase
1965-66	2.1	1969-70	1.8
1966-67	3.3	1970-71	1.1
1967-68	2.6		

Table 2.

[10] Annual Statistical Report of the National Association of Independent Schools, (Boston, Mass., 1970).

During the same period, family buying power was reduced as indicated by the decline of average real per capita income. We might expect that funds available for private education--whether pre-collegiate or university--would be reduced. Yet if we juxtapose the rapid growth of radical alternative schools with the decline of real income, we realize that in spite of less finances, families are willing to pay for the special education that free schools provide.

Alternative schools appear in states which are cosmopolitan, urban, and industrialized. The geographic distribution indicates that California (96 schools), New York (43 schools), Massachusetts (25 schools), and Illinois (19)schools) comprise more than half the alternative schools in the United States. Figure 2 shows the 39 states containing at least one alternative school in rank order as follows:

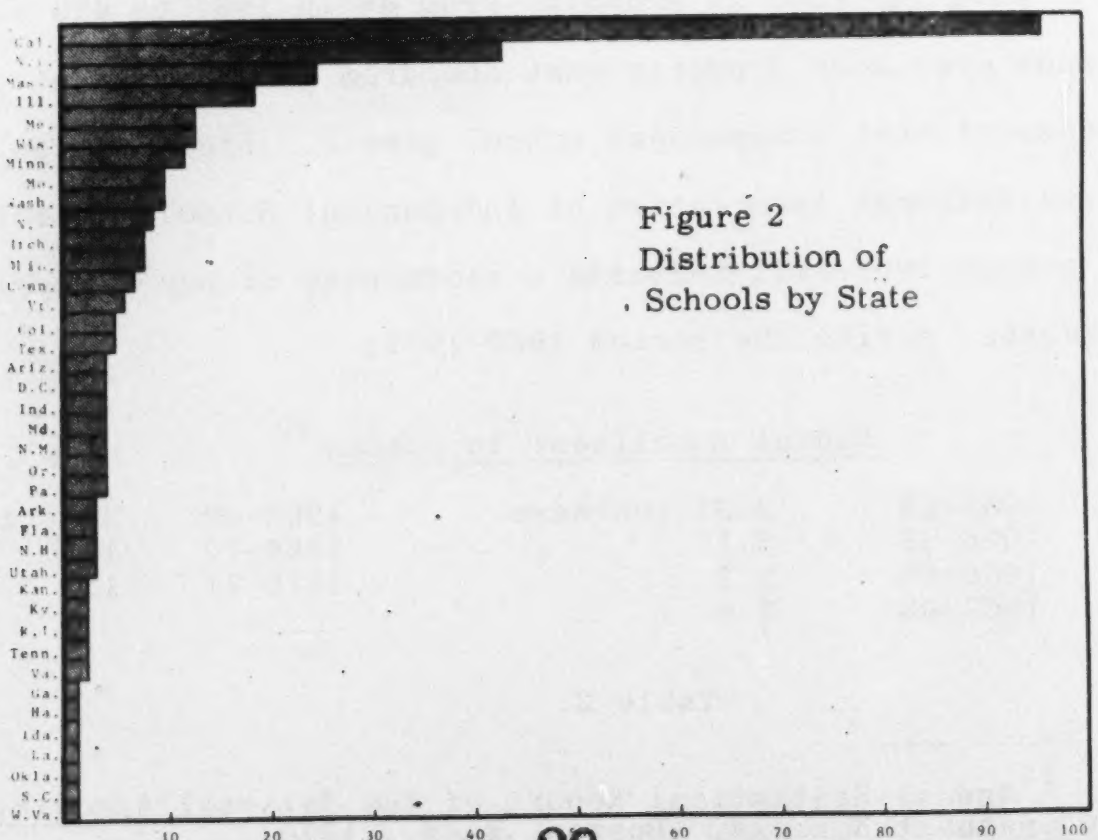


Figure 2
Distribution of
Schools by State

In most states, free schools do not find legal statutes which regulate nonpublic schools a particular burden. There appears to be no relationship between stringency of state laws and number of schools, since California has comprehensive laws yet many schools. Only in Michigan (among the 9 states visited) did this researcher encounter programs which felt restrained by laws. For example, the Solstice School (Ann Arbor) was unable to hire enough teachers who were qualified by state certification to open as a full-time school. This may explain why other states which are equally urban and industrialized--like Massachusetts and Illinois--have many more free schools and Michigan ranks eleventh.

Types of Schools. Alternative schools may be classified as boarding, day, or both; boarding schools are often located in rural settings where they can maintain their community atmosphere. Their numbers are small: only 21. The decision to become a boarding school can be a dramatic step in the life of a school. Staff must be willing to invest their full energies in a totalistic experience. Costs are higher, often forcing these schools to take only wealthier children. Even with scholarships, few minority children are willing to leave their home communities to live in a "free" boarding school situation. Only recently have conventional boarding (preparatory) schools attracted blacks. These schools are gateways into better universities, a goal which poor families understand. The value for poor families of living in a non-authoritarian

school is negligible unless some future advantages are to be gained. This is understandable in light of the world these families will face later.

In Figure 3 our data show that the large majority of new programs are day schools, some 308 out of 346. Nine out

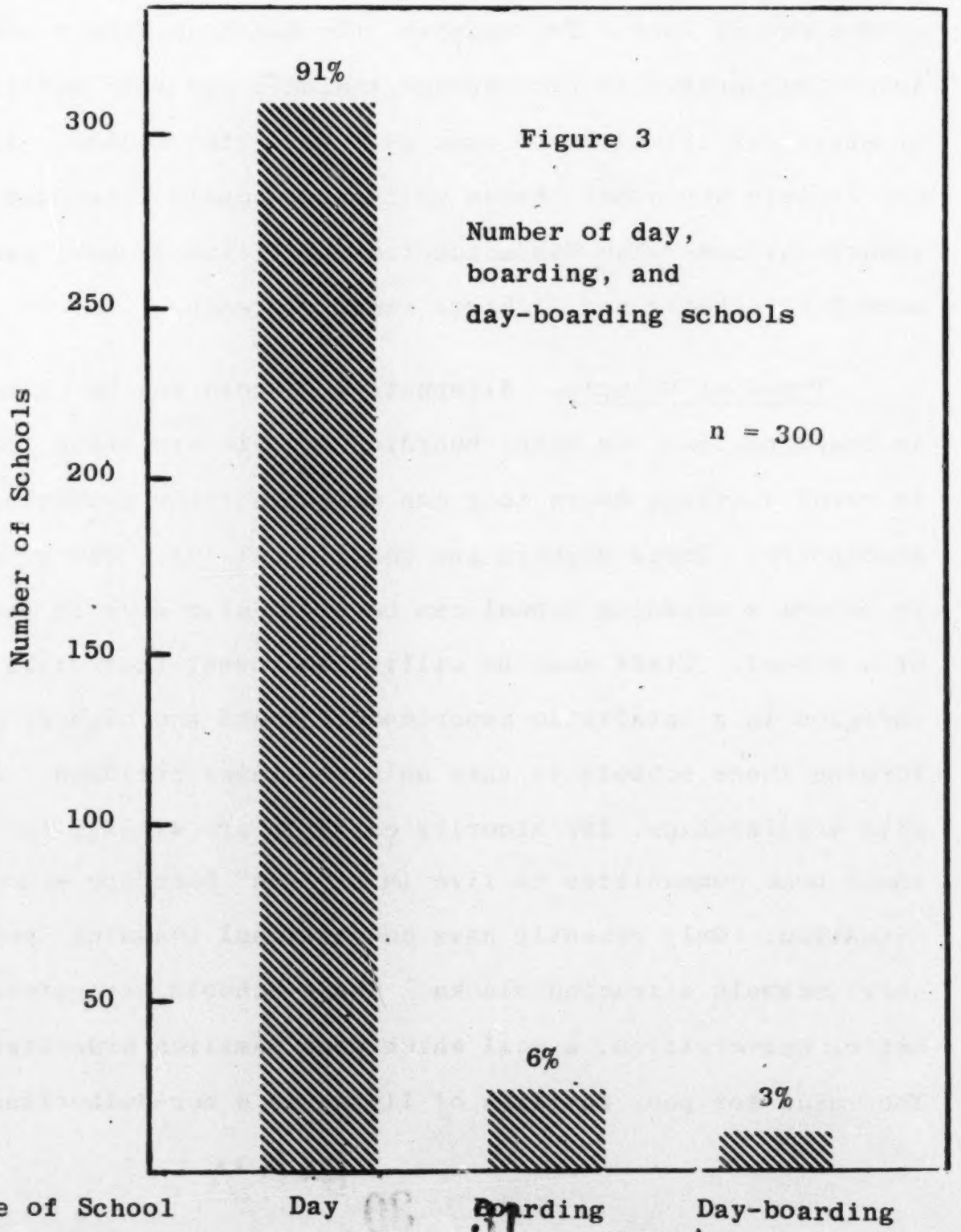


Figure 3

Number of day, boarding, and day-boarding schools

n = 300

A32

of the total take both boarders and day students from surrounding communities.

Throughout the nation, boarding schools have been losing enrollment. According to National Association of Independent Schools, the expenses ($3,000 per year) and the proliferation of day preparatory schools have cut into their recruitment. Radical boarding schools suffer from the same problems.

Rural boarding schools offer travel experiences and exchanges with more urbanized day free schools. We may assume that these efforts result from a need to overcome a sense of isolation. These schools in some cases are a part of a family commune like the Mulberry Farm School, Pettigrew, Arkansas; some are schools for emotionally disturbed students, like The Farm, Gualala, California; and others function as foster placement like the Summerhill School, Caspar, California, which is licensed by the courts as a placement home.

Tuition. Eighty-one percent of the "free Schools" in the United States charge some tuition ranging from a token fee to $1,200 for a day school; $700 to $2,900 for a boarding school. The remaining 19% are tuitionless. These include the community freedom schools and some free schools with

heterogeneous student groups. Figure 4 shows the distribution of fee paying versus tuitionless schools.

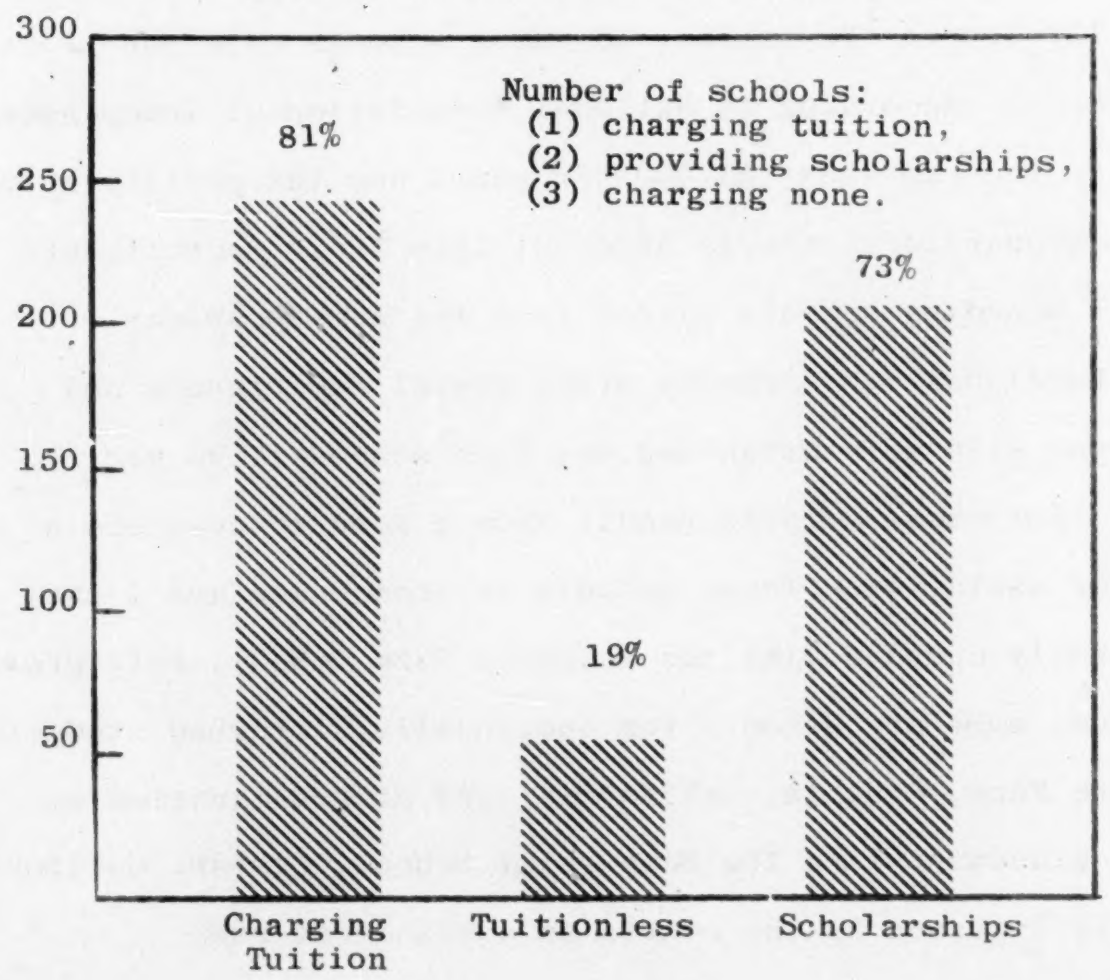


Figure 4

Of those charging tuition, 73% offer some scholarship aid by waiving tuition altogether, charging a reduced rate, and/or giving parents jobs at school. In the schools that this observer visited, more than 50% of the students paid something less than full tuition.

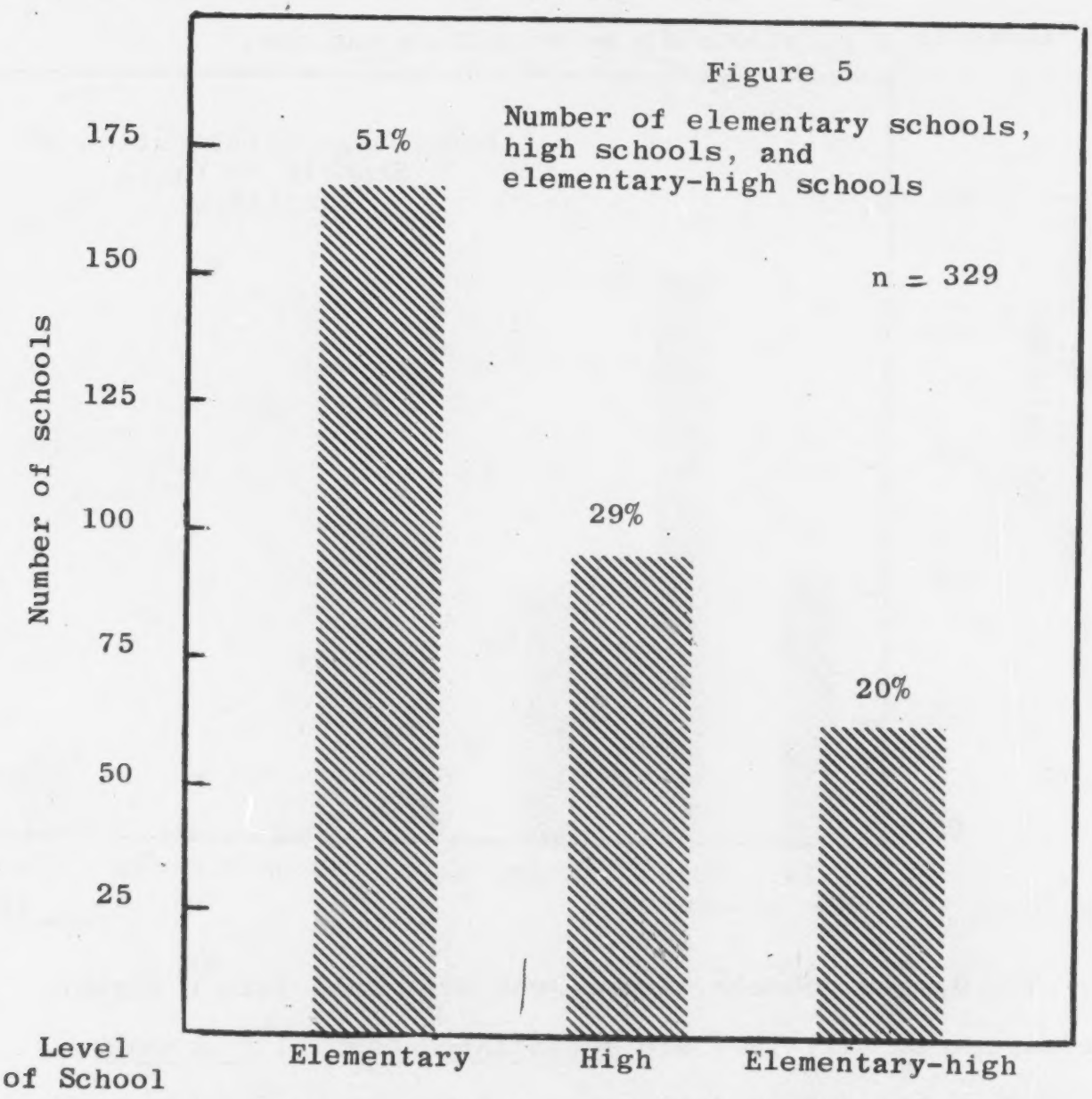
Age-grading. Schools may be classified as elementary schools, high schools, and combination elementary-high schools. Slightly more than half of the alternative schools in our

sample are elementary programs, one third are high schools, and one-fifth are kindergarten to twelfth grade. Figure 5 shows the distribution by age-grading.

Figure 5

Number of elementary schools, high schools, and elementary-high schools

n = 329



Size. In our analysis of the size of schools, our data show that two-thirds of the nation's free schools reporting have an enrollment of less than 40 pupils. In some cases this was a conscious choice. Remaining small and personalized is a goal of free school life. The memories of mass education stand large in the minds of many alternative school participants.

B3

In other cases, the smallness of the school is the result of being new. Since our data indicate that almost two-thirds of all schools are less than two years old, we may assume that there is a relationship between size and age.

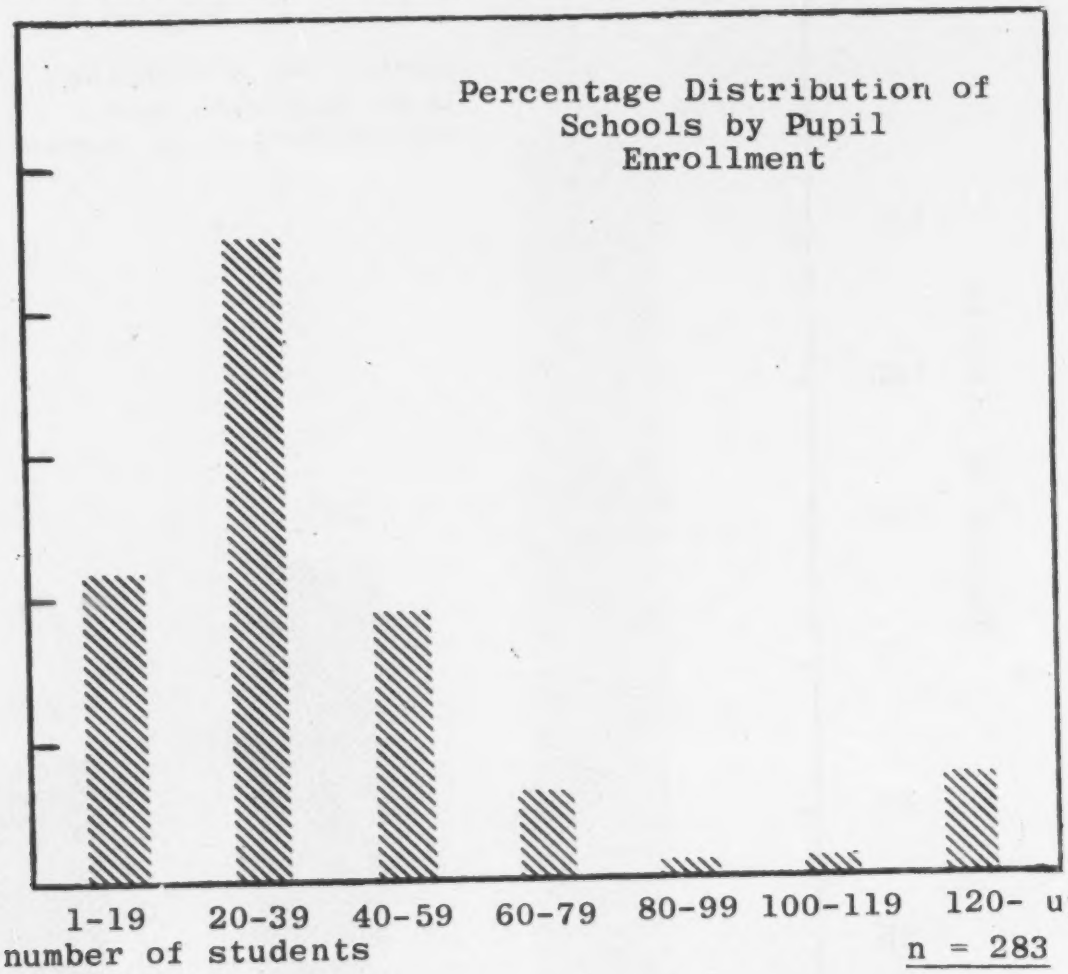


Figure 6

The larger schools, those over 100, fall into a number of categories. (1) They are established community schools: Harlem Prep has 500 students; Michael Community School, Milwaukee, 290; and E. Harlem Block Schools has 220 children. (2) They are in some way affiliated with another organization: Margaret Sibley School, Plattsburgh, New York, 275 students, is supported by the state university system as a laboratory and demonstration school; and Webster College School, St. Louis,

B4

has 150 enrolled and is part of Webster College. Or (3) they are older, and/or more established progressive-style schools: Peninsula School, Menlo Park, California has 230 children, was founded in 1925, and is more structured than the typical free school. The same is true of the Fayerweather School, Cambridge: it has 135 children, an "open classroom" but structured program; its own specially constructed facility, though it opened only four years ago.

Student Characteristics. Data on students includes two areas: sex and ethnic composition. These schools enroll slightly more males (55%) than females (45%). Since we have no age breakdown, we cannot tell whether more young men come into alternatives because of failure to conform in high school; or whether they stay away as college and career become a concern.

As we mentioned earlier, the free schools are mainly a White program comprising 80% of the alternative school student group; Blacks make up 17% but are concentrated in a few schools. Spanish surnames comprise 2% clustered mainly in New York City and a few schools in California, though this state has few totally tuitionless schools for Mexican-Americans. American Indians make up .8% and Other .03% which include Orientals, et al.

As yet we have no hard data on student performance, attitudes, or behaviors. We have only personal testimonies from adults and students themselves about the effects of free

B5

and freedom schools. One such personal source will be the story of Elizabeth Cleaners Street School, written by participants for publication by Random House.

We discussed, under the development of schools, the changes that occur in students as they participate in free schools. At first, there is a period of disorientation, of acclimatizing to new freedom. Second, out of a sense of boredom and frustration, students become highly motivated: they produce street drama as did the students of Freedom House, Madison, or write a book on their school, or travel across country together. Finally, students move out of the school--in a sense de-schooling themselves--into community activities. They start students' rights groups, work with migrant workers, even organize other free schools.

Much research is needed into the effects of free schooling on youngsters of all ages: in the cognitive field (how much have they learned in both academic and apprenticeship areas?), in the areas of self-reliance, motivation, self-understanding, and about group decision-making, self-government, and group action.

Staff Characteristics. Free and Freedom Schools involve adults ranging from full-time, fully paid employees to part-time volunteers. The lines between those "working" at the school and those "helping out" are not clear. Thus for a report of this type, we must preface our discussion of staffing by saying that staff are those individuals who take on certain

tasks or responsibilities around the school whether they are paid or not.

According to these general criteria, some 42% of alternative schools staff are men; and 58% are women. This includes part, full, and volunteers of those schools reporting. The ethnic composition of staff taken as a national group is 90% white, 7% black, again clustered in certain schools, and 3% other

The age distribution, as indicated in Figure 7 shows that two-thirds of all staff are under thirty years old. Those between thirty and thirty-nine are the next largest group comprising 18% of the national sample. Then those staff forty years and over, and those under twenty make up 8% each. The national mean age for teachers is 37; thus alternative school teachers as a group are considerably younger.

Our figures on numbers of staff are vague because of the difficulties involved with defining who is and who is not staff. Many schools, particularly the teacher-parent cooperative efforts, may or may not include parents as "staff" even though they function as such. Few alternative schools could function without voluntary supporters doing innumerable jobs like bookkeeping, legal work, fund-raising. Few of these people would appear on a staff roster. Our figures show 2,584 staff reported, 1,671 full-time, 913 part-time, and practically all schools indicated the use of "volunteers."

Staff recruitment includes formal procedures in some schools. Notices are posted, interviews held, and decisions

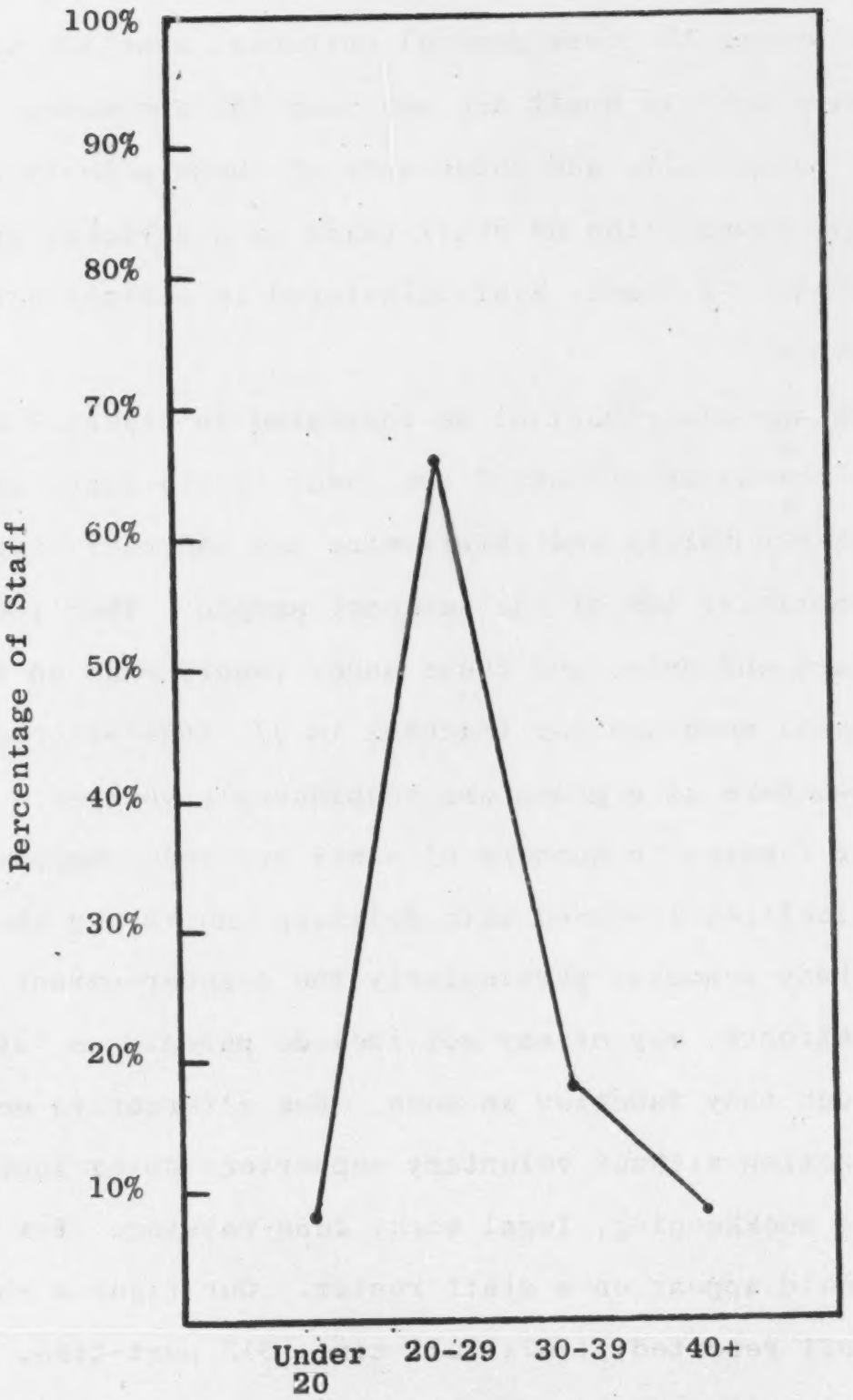


Figure 7

Age distribution of staff at alternate schools

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made, often by staff, parents, and students alike. Often there is a personnel committee of some form which handles the preliminary screening. A vote of the entire board and/or school decides on staff employment. In other schools, the staff is taken from those adults who are present. These may include university students and professors on a part-time basis, VISTA types, and so on.

Movement Characteristics. Alternative education forms a national effort. Data to confirm the scope of the phenomenon is at present more impressionistic than empirical. We can point to the numerous "educational switchboards," and "clearinghouses," functioning currently. We can count the many regional conferences on alternative schools in particular and life-styles in general, the exchange of personnel, materials, and ideas. We can note the number of schools resembling one another, the proliferation of manuals, books, and reports on free and freedom schools. Even the fact that sales of Neill's Summerhill have reached a million copies since 1968 would indicate the growth of a national awareness and interest in alternative education. But at best, these are proxy for what some analysts have called a "movement."

Regional clearinghouses perform a number of central functions for alternative schools. A recent survey showed about 24 such groups were aiding local schools in the following activities.

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1. Student and Teacher Placement: 50% were acting as a communications link between schools which needed pupils and/or teachers, and people who needed a school.

2. Publication of a Newsletter: Out of the 20 clearinghouses responding to a survey, 15 were publishing a monthly to weekly newsletter containing placement information, mailing lists of other schools and alternatives in the area, and some expository and poetic writing.

3. Making of films, slides, and/or prints: six of the groups were making some audio-visual materials for distribution.

4. Financial support for schools: Few clearinghouses have funds for distribution to schools. The SEED Foundation has given some support. SEED Foundation was established by John Holt and others to channel private funds to alternative schools.

5. Program support: A number of clearinghouses collect and distribute ideas and materials among schools. They do so by producing magazines, etc. They are also available for personal meetings.

6. Operating a school: At least one clearinghouse supports a free school.

7. Teacher training and/or retraining: Clearinghouses become involved in preparing teachers to enter alternative schools. Some of these groups were formed and maintained by former public school teachers.

In Table 3* we see the various functions performed by the clearinghouses which responded to our query. The most common function is that of publishing a newsletter; second is teacher and pupil placement, and third, program support.

The books and other printed materials on alternative schools have accelerated in the last year. Alternative Schools: A Practical Manual and New Schools: A Directory of Alternative Schools are the most recent publications geared to assisting schools in their awareness of common interests and

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*See Appendix

problems. Similarly, Jonathan Kozol's book, Free Schools, lists over 600 sources for helping new schools; it will be published this spring.

Personal accounts of particular school experiences are forthcoming. Students, staff, and parents of Elizabeth Cleaners Street School are publishing a book soon on how their school was founded and what their problems and successes have been.

Like other national efforts, the free and freedom school thing may peak and drop off. It is still too early to see how broad and deep the programs are going. The importance of this national effort will be measured in a number of different ways. By how many new schools are created and maintained; by the impact these schools have on their communities and the conventional schools in their areas; by the future of alternative systems in general; and by the lives of those who participate in the alternative schools program.

In this chapter, we have moved deductively, examining first the shared ideology of free and freedom schools; second the differing programs which have resulted, third, case studies of these programs, and fourth, the survey data on private alternative schools. We culminated our description with mention of the national movement.

III

Patterns of Alternative School Growth

In this section we shall discuss the birth of alternative schools, the people involved in their creation, the phases they go through as they mature, and their survival rates. This over-view will provide a sense of thrust and energy which these alternative schools enjoy.

A. "THE SPARK OF LIFE." That moment of conception, when the thought of starting a school and the actions necessary come together, is as personal and mysterious as any creative act. It may occur accidentally: "We just met one afternoon, a group of us students, and one of us looked around, and said, 'This looks like a school!'"[1] It may occur quite consciously: "My husband and I put an advertisement in the newspaper. Up to the last week, no one answered. Then at the very last minute, as students faced the possibility of entering local high schools, they found us."[2] It may evolve: "At first we were a community center. Kids kept hanging around, you know. We were VISTA people looking for a program. So we <u>became</u> a school."[3]

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[1]Field notes, Milwaukee, September 29, 1971.

[2]Field notes, San Francisco, September 22, 1971.

[3]Field notes, Newark, N.J., October 8, 1971

Theodore Lowi, political scientist at the University of Chicago, has termed the conception of a social movement the spark of life, "that sensitive moment when people find some basis of interaction."[4] This "moment" may be precipitated by a change in the objective situation--a crisis at school or home, or by a shift in values, as may have resulted from the civil rights or peace movements. Whatever the causes (and we shall return to some of them when we discuss the philosophy of the alternative movement), about 400 radical departures from conventional education have been attempted in America alone. Only intensive studies, case by case, could fully document the gestation and birth of these schools. Needless to say, it is the coming together of general discontent, willing initiators, the germ of an idea, and a change in values or in the objective situation.

B. THE INITIATORS. Central to the creation of new schools are those special individuals who as entrepreneurs or leaders-by-accident motivate those around them. "The leaders must share with special intensity the fellow feeling that is creating the new primary group. But they must also function as a channel of communication."[5] It is the dual role as initiator and communicator that permits the founder of a new program to involve people both within the circle of participants and those on the fringes of the organization.

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[4]Theodore Lowi, The Politics of Disorder, (New York: Basic Books, 1971), 41.

[5]Ibid., 42.

This observer has isolated six sets of initiators. Besides demonstrating the diversity of types involved, this effort will be useful in discussing the growth of schools, as there is a definite relationship between the category of person starting the school and its eventual function and shape:

1. Educator(s): Refugee educators from the public system are a prime source of initiators of new schools. They know students, "schools," and, to a varying degree, pedagogy. Often they have been "burned" by the public system. It is estimated that some of the best literature of the movement is personal accounts of how the authors had been chastised and in some cases fired for trying innovative techniques. In The Way it Spozed to Be, James Herndon, author and main character, got the axe: "It was right then that I really understood I was being fired," he wrote. Mr. Grisum, the principal, was at his best:

> He spoke to the point; the children were not in their seats on time, they did not begin lessons promptly, many of them sat around doing nothing, there was not an atmosphere conducive to study, no effort was made to inculcate good study habits, there was no evidence of thorough preparation of lessons or goals. I appeared to encourage activities that were opposed to the efforts of the faculty in general, I appeared eager to discuss with students matters irrelevant or unfit for the classroom, I had no control over their actions, and I steadfastly rejected aid and advice from experienced people.[6]

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[6] James Herndon, The Way it Spozed to Be, (New York: Bantam Books, 1965), 172.

B15

All of this in spite of Herndon's being the only teacher in the school whose students did not literally riot in the latter part of the term.

Jonathan Kozol was also a casualty of the public schools. He was "released" for teaching a Langston Hughes poem, "Ballad of the Landlord." It was not on the approved list, contained bad grammar:

> Landlord, landlord,
> My roof has sprung a leak.
> Don't you 'member I told you about it
> Way last week?, etc.

and was a symbol of Kozol's "defiance" of the rules of the Boston Schools. It was in light of his actions that the principal, "Miss _____, properly carrying out her responsibility to all the pupils and to their parents, admonished the neophyte teacher for his persistent deviations from the course of study," to quote a letter from the School Committee's lawyer, T.S. Eisenstadt. Yet in the same letter, Kozol was described as having "an enthusiastic spirit," "initiative, and other fine qualities."[7]

Numerous alternative schools have sprung from the efforts of teachers like Herndon and Kozol. The Rockland Project School, Blauvelt, New York, for example, was the work of Susan and Norman Baron--both certified teachers. The very mention of

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[7] Jonathan Kozol, Death at an Early Age, (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), 229-231.

B16

forming a free school caused them to be fired; they were left with little choice. They opened their school.

It has been the impression of this analyst that schools founded and maintained by teachers are more stable than those opened either by students or parents. Teachers can devote full time to the program, a key consideration in the ever-changing milieu of a new school. They can offer some continuity from year to year; and they have an opportunity to develop a working philosophy for shaping the school program.

2. Community Organizer(s): The job of community organizer has changed since the early sixties. With the growth of autonomy and pride within neighborhoods, organizers--especially those of different ethnic and class backgrounds--have found it increasingly difficult and/or undesirable to work in some areas. White VISTA organizers are less welcome in black neighborhoods. Even Saul Alinsky has shifted to the white ethnic communities, after some "success" in black areas a decade ago. In at least one case, a team of VISTA people in Newark, New Jersey opted to open a white, working-class free school, Independence High, in the Ironbound neighborhood. This choice was not made easily; several organizers felt that running a school was too removed from the problems of the total community.

In Milwaukee when the Bishop decided to close seven elementary parochial schools, organizers prepared the communities to keep the schools open under the parents' control. Budgets were reduced, staff shuffled, and the schools continued: St. Michael's School became the Michael's Community School,

C1

St. Leo's, Leo's Community School, etc. The communities were even able to establish a central office, the Federation of Milwaukee Independent Schools, through an OEO grant. The Federation handles fund raising and coordination for its seven community schools.

3. Parent(s): As we have discussed under the Teacher-Parent Cooperative model, parents form a highly concerned group in the creation of new schools. Usually middle-class, often university-affiliated, they have the time and money to invest in education particularly tailored to their children's needs, as they define them. It is interesting that for the first time in history, the middle class is financially secure enough to support a school which flies in the face of traditional middle-class values. These new schools stress non-competition, a non-achievement orientation, and non-structure.

Parent schools--without some hired help--have rarely succeeded. The merry-go-round of adults scheduled into the school day places a burden on young children; the demands on parents' time makes coordination a nightmare; the absence of particular skills--like the teaching of reading--becomes apparent. These difficulties lead to the introduction of at least one full-time staff member. At this point, the dynamics of the school have changed. How much autonomy and power should be awarded this individual? When should he be consulted? On what issues?

The Family Community School "grew out of the desire of a small group of Milwaukee parents to provide an education for

C2.

their children outside the traditional (public or private) school system." It had "no full-time teachers, only parents and University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee students rotating as resource people."[8] But as we had predicted under our Parent-Teacher Cooperative model, the need "for a central coordinator was recognized and will be part of the school next year."[9]

4. Student(s): The collective crises in the lives of a group of high school students catalyzes them into action: at some point the decision is made to form a "school community."

> Five students met in July of 1969 to consider ways of effecting constructive change in the present educational system. Subsequent meetings led to a decision to create an educational community which would enable students to find and interpret wider and more meaningful experiences.[10]

After the initial decision, students "seek, select, and hire the faculty and staff."[11] They elect the governing board of the school, set policy, and administer the entire affair.

In the several cases of student-initiated free schools, this observer has witnessed a high degree of cohesion among the students, usually about 40 in number. The source of tension in

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[8]"First Year Review of an Alternative School," (Mimeo, July, 1971), 1.

[9]Ibid., 9.

[10]Milwaukee Independent School: A Description, (Mimeo, July, 1970), 1

[11]Ibid.

C 3

such schools, however, centers around the power distribution between staff and students. As each new year begins, the newly recruited students look to staff for direction and structure; the staff has learned to let the students run the show. Or as one staff member told me, "This is the kids' school! If they don't want to do anything, that's okay. But I'm getting bored. I have needs too. And I need to see things happen around here."[12] This stress is never fully resolved in a student-run school. But the tendency is for staff to fill vacuums and to provide more structure as the years pass.

5. Public School Leader(s): The history of educational change within the public school system is a topic for another study. We should mention, however, a few cases of initiators who were successful in gaining their objectives: alternative schools within the system.

The innovator in the public sphere must play his game within the organizational ballpark. He must concretize his ideas in configurations which superintendents and board members will understand. This will mean drafting a "proposal" which includes relevant data on costs, benefits, facilities, staffing, time-scheduling, plans and alternative plans. This may further mean some lobbying to sway key board members and central office staff into his camp. The limitations on the extent of experimentation are based on the level of pressure both inside and outside the system for change. (It also helps if other "leader" districts and states are doing it.)

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[12]Field Notes, Berkeley, California, September 23, 1971.

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Thus, when Mr. John O'Dowd, Jr., Director of Secondary and Vocational Education for the New Orleans schools, requested the initiation of a "school without walls," he had a number of advantages: first, Philadelphia and Chicago had launched similar projects successfully. Second, there was Title I, ESEA funding available. Third, there was pressure in the system and city to curb the high drop-out rate in inner-city schools. And finally, he could count on support from Assistant Superintendent M.F. Rosenberg.

Berkeley, California presents a spectacular case of educator-initiated alternative programing. Not one, but a whole system of free and freedom schools was created through an Office of Education grant of $3.6 million. "Berkeley Unified School District proposes to establish 24 separate alternative schools in a comprehensive K-12 plan in two attendance zones in the District involving nearly five thousand pupils."[13] These schools may be grouped into those stressing (1) racial pride and consciousness [Black House, La Casa de al Raza, Odyssey], (2) special interest areas [Community High School--arts; Environmental Studies Program], (3) skill orientation [On Target--careers; West Campus Alternative--studies and employment; East Campus--a continuation school], (4) parent control [Kilimanjaro], (5) open classrooms [John Muir Child

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[13]"Experimental Schools Educational Plan," submitted to the U.S. Office of Education, May 21, 1971 by Berkeley Unified School District, Office of Project Planning and Development, 8.

C.5

Development Center; Other Ways], (6) a multi-cultural experience [Franklin Multi-cultural, Agora], and (7) a mixed formal and informal program [Jefferson Three-part Model].

It is difficult to identify all the initiators in the Berkeley experiment. Teachers were involved: "Several years ago in Berkeley, individual educators began carving out alternatives for students who were chafing at the regular educational mold and teachers who were anxious to try other ways of making the learning program come alive."[14]

Likewise, the efforts of many administrators, from the general superintendent, the research and development staff, and building principals are required to apply for a $3.6 million grant.

Also, we should not ignore the "competition" from private alternatives like Walden, Hedge, and Bay High School.

However, the thrust for change does not always come from higher up. In San Francisco, Opportunity I and II were launched by a small group of teachers led by Marcia Perlstein. "Central to our puposes," a position paper goes,

> is the desire to foster a community spirit which generates personal commitment to the school, family and larger community. In order to achieve these ends we intend to implement a student-centered program which simultaneously follows real-world and academic orientation enabling our graduates to have the widest number of available options open to them.[15]

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[14] "Experimental Schools in Berkeley," September, 1971, (pamphlet to families), 1

[15] "Opportunity II: A New Vision," (Mimeo, January 21, 1971, revision), 1, para. 2.

In at least one case, a group of parents in St. Paul, Minnesota, prodded the system into creating one alternative school within the system, The St. Paul Open School, with 500 students, K-12.

But in the final analysis, it is the professional educator whether high or low in the bureaucracy, who is in the strategic position for initiating educational change. He has the troops: some 55 million staff and students; he has the resources, $42.5 billion total; and he has the opportunities, if he will take advantage of them.

6. Private Organization Leader(s): Finally, numerous alternatives have been started by individuals not directly involved with an educational enterprise, but who become interested through their own philanthropic, social welfare, or business interests. The American Friends Service Committee, for example, was instrumental in involving Urban Research Corporation and the Board of Education in establishing Metro School, the nation's second "school without walls."

The Institute for Rational Living, New York City, opened The Living School to implement some of their approaches to therapy.

In Madison, Wisconsin, a professor at the University of Wisconsin wrote a proposal to Ford, which included about $75,000 for an experimental school. Under an arrangement with the Board of Education, the University channeled Ford money into Malcolm[X]Shabazz Memorial High School, technically an extension of Madison's public East High School.

> With initial funding by the Ford Foundation the school's program was approved by the Madison Board of Education to operate on a pilot basis from January 25, 1971, to June 4, 1971. During this pilot-planning semester, the school is operating with a student body of 67 students and a core teaching staff of five certified teachers. Dr. Wayne Benson, Principal of East High School, is the school's administrative head.[16]

In this case, the press for innovation came from a group outside the system itself.

Universities, perhaps more than any other institution, have been most involved in the alternative school movement. Schools of education, for example, offer courses in alternatives; their students become interested and work part-time in storefront schools, street academies, and free schools. Professors, too, may take an active interest in such programs. Often they want to place their children in one. This observer visited a professor's home near the campus of a major midwest university. He was out. Three hours later, he returned. He had been repairing the bathroom of his son's free school, while his child was off camping with his classmates.

Whomever the initiators may be--whether professionals or parents, adults or students, community organizers or university professors--the first step, the ignition of the spark of life is perhaps the most difficult stage in the development of an alternative school. The break with the past, with convention, is never easy. The remarkable thing is that so many people have reached that point and have started alternative schools.

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[16]"Evaluation, Malcolm [X] Shabazz Memorial High," (Mimeographed, Madison, Wisconsin, 1970), 2.

C8

C. DEVELOPMENTAL PHASES: Free schools move through three phases in their "natural life cycle." These phases are The Early Phase: Disorientation, The Organizational Phase, and The Institutional Phase. The key variables affecting the initiation and culmination of each stage appear to be (1) the changing needs of the students and (2) staff in each developmental stage, (3) the dynamics of the groups and sub-groups which evolve, and (4) most generally, the development--or lack of development--of organizational structures to carry out the functions of the school.

The Early Phase: Disorientation

New schools complain about the same problems:

--Students who don't know what to do with their new-found freedoms.

At Fernwood School, near Portland, Oregon, children "reveled in their new liberty" . . . which meant that students drifted away during classes, leaving teachers teaching by themselves.[17]

At Summerhill, Neill reports that new students repeat the life-cycle of the school. At first, they must get over their hatred of their former school before they can participate in this one. "The recovery time is proportionate to the hatred their last school gave them."[18]

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[17]Elizabeth Monroe Drews, "Fernwood," from Radical School Reform, Gross and Gross, eds., (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1970), 260.

[18]A.S. Neill, Summerhill, (New York: Hart, 1960), 5.

At Bay High, Berkeley, Joan Levinson reported that students can't be rushed. They have to "recover" from years of being pushed around. This first stage takes about a year--of doing virtually nothing and becoming bored. When the student realizes that no one is going to force him to do anything, he may want to do things for himself. This ends the first stage, for the student, and collectively, for the school, perhaps.

--Staff who face unclear roles.

Action-oriented adults clash with students during the early phase. Students need time off; adults need to get going. Or "sometimes, a new member of staff will react to freedom very much as children react: he may be unshaved, stay abed too long of mornings, even break school laws. Luckily, the living out of complexes takes a much shorter time for adults than it does for children,"[19] Neill reports.

The early stage of school development often requires a charismatic leader to initiate the program. This "authority of the extraordinary and personal gift of grace (charisma), the absolutely personal devotion and personal confidence in revelation, heroism, or other qualities of individual leadership"[20] while often necessary in catalyzing the project into life may

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[19] Ibid., 21

[20] From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds,, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 79.

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retard stable growth. This may explain the high turnover of staff during the first few years. The exuberant leader at the onset is replaced by a less dynamic--but steadier--person who can maintain the new school.

--Student and staff groupings based on conflict and cohesion.

Since these new schools are small and intimate, and since the people involved are going through an exciting experience together, the group dynamics play an important part in creating and stabilizing the school during the early phase. There is a balance, according to Herbert Thelen, between the emotional needs of the group members and the press for decisive actions. "With all members having their own hidden agendas [based on their individual needs] to work on, there must be some sort of reality outside the group, some purpose over and above the concerns of each individual to which attention can be directed."[21] It is the process of group purpose attainment which occupies the school--staff and students and parents--during these early months.

--The Development of organizational structures to carry out goals.

Schools at this stage resemble social movements. There are few rules, little structure, high affect, and few routines. While this modus operandi may be exciting, it is inefficient and costly in terms of emotional and physical resources. The need

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[21]Herbert A. Thelen, Dynamics of Groups at Work, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), 253.

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for organizational structure has been ecnoed by many new school participants. The Family School (Milwaukee) moved toward the hiring of full-time staff to ease the stress of parental volteers. Bay High (Berkeley) published a school course catalog to facilitate the activities of both students and staff. The Coop School (Madison, Wisconsin) became a teacher-run school. It is this move from social movement to social organization that characterizes many new schools.

The Organizational Phase:

--Students become involved with the activities and the operation of the school.

Out of a sense of boredom at first and genuine interest later on, the students become more "self-regulated" as they find enjoyment in participation. Drews describes the process:

> At first he lay claim to the merry-go-round, where he would lie for hours watching the clouds or waving at the occasional taxpayer who drove by. Gradually he gained peace of mind and overcame his aversion to school to the extent that he could cross the threshold and enter the classroom . . . . His next venture was to become social. As a beginning, he learned to play chess, occasionally beating his teachers at the game they taught him, and finally became an excellent conversationalist.[22]

By this time, students at Elizabeth Clearners Street School, New York City, have been running their program for over a year. Having moved from the West Side to the Village, they

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[22]Drews, 261.

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are now meeting in the actors' resting room of the Mercer Theatre. When the theater manager complained about the noise, the students, with a few staff fell into silence for a meeting. No one conducted it. Rather each spoke, without interruption, when he had something to say. They had met so often about school problems that "decision-making" came automatically.

--The staff has reached a balance between a concern for student autonomy and personal needs.

In the organizational phase, some formal (e.g. classes) and informal (e.g. friendsh ps) structures have been created to facilitate the need-fulfillment of staff and students. "Understandings" have been worked out as to which areas are of major concern to staff--"matters of health and safety are staff responsibilities"[23]--and which are directed by students. Finally, the gray areas in between are under constant negotiation as issues, students, and staff change.

Lowi stresses the change in leadership style as the group moves from being a movement to an organization. Often the original charismatic leader is replaced by the "administrator" who can structure both the reality and theories of the group. "Rationalization of organizational goals and of appropriate member behavior become articulated as a single continuum of theory,"[24] Lowi explains. The sect has become the denomination; charisma has become systematized.

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[23]"Collins Brook School," (Printed brochure, 1971), para. 4.

[24]Lowi, 46.

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--Groups are functioning both formally as committees, classes, and informally as friendship groups and support groups.

Schools in the organizational phase are meeting with predictable regularity. General meetings of parents and staff may be meeting to settle policy and fiscal issues in a routinized manner. Students and staff are deciding in-school problems in weekly session. Mechanisms are functioning for the operation of the school.

Since most free schools are small, even during the second phase (about 50 students), the importance of being in a friendship group is central. By the second or third year, students have established cliques. Newcomers, once again re-enacting the life history of the school, wander around lost for a few months until they are absorbed into a group or leave. Few can remain unattached and stay. Theorists of organizational behavior stress the importance of "informal" structures in the operation of an organization. Rather than being based on status, age, or position, these relationships are based on mutual concern on the personal level.

--The school has become an organization with some bureaucratic structure and leader-follower relationships.

Usually, a "director" has been selected with some centers of power and decision-making acquired. Though the structure may be simple compared to other product-oriented corporations, the school has taken on "division of labor," a hierarchy, some roles, etc. Participants may be divided as to "old guard" and "newcomers." Traditions begin to appear.

D6

The Institutional Phase

Though few free schools in the United States are old enough to become an institution, we can examine some of the "radical" schools of the thirties and forties to see what happens to such a school that survived.

Walden School, Berkeley, is an example of a school which has become an institution. A full-blown board of directors, controlled by some of the "old families," makes policy. Newcomers understand the sense of tradition and are "socialized" into the organization.

The facilities have become an important part of organizational life. Walden had purchased two corner lots and had demolished the old buildings, replacing them with new ones "especially designed for our needs." Changes in the program (when they come) require a renovation of the structures involved. Thus when Walden combined three grades (first through third) into one unit, they had to knock out a wall between two classrooms.

The staff at Walden is bimodal: a group of old-timers who were part of the school from the beginning and some newcomers.

Peninsula School, Palo Alto, California, was the oldest progressive school included in this study. It was started by some Quakers and local parents:

> In 1925 the founding group of parents and teachers began to create in Peninsula School an opportunity for children to "learn by doing," [a la Dewey] to discover their own personalities and outlets for their intellectual and emotional lives. First-hand problem solving and free decision making were

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> counted on to "foster social responsibility, tolerance and generosity."[25]

Characteristically, institutionalized schools are larger, for example, Peninsula has 220 students and 30 full-time staff; funding has settled into a pattern, unfortunately, usually dependent on tuition, which eliminates lower-class children. And a school of this size requires an office staff, some bureaucratic procedures, and less sense of experimentation and excitement.

Children of alumni attend. Certain traditions must be upheld from one year to the next.

Whether many "free schools" will reach this final stage is at this point unknown. Already several "free schools" have purchased facilities, one costing $50,000. But others have phased themselves out of existence. The students become bored with school qua school and begin to move into the community: some organizing "student rights groups" in public schools; others going off to form their own schools for other students; others going onto communes.

At this stage, the school ceases to hold classes: rather the building becomes a base of operation for community programs. In the opinion of this observer, this third stage--the community-oriented one--is useful to students and staff alike. It is the final acknowledgment that schooling means involvement, that as basically middle-class (or even poorer) students, there are greater problems in the world than running a school. This move from introversion to extroversion may be the final stage to dissolution of the structure of schooling. We should understand

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[25]Peninsula School, "Brochure," (Menlo Park, Calif., 1970), 3.

however, that schools and pupils do not reach stage three without having gone through a disorientation period, a time for getting "one's head together"--individually and collectively--and a phase of activity and growth before members are ready to move into the community.

D. SURVIVAL RATES. As we have seen, the creation of free schools occurs at that miraculous moment when the right person(s) comes together with other like-minded people, under circumstances of similar interests. We have examined the categories of initiators, noting that there is no typical free or freedom school organizer. We looked briefly at the three phases through which these schools go: disoriented, organizational, and institutional, and the forces which may push schools from one to another.

In light of all these "barriers" and "unknowns," we might expect the fatality rate among free and freedom schools to be high. This is not the case! Somehow about 88% of all schools survive. The erroneous statement (that free schools on the average last only 18 months), printed last year in The New Schools Exchange Newsletter, is based on a movement which is hardly 18 months old itself. Our data show that over half of the free schools were started in September 1970. It would be impossible to come up with a figure of 18 months from schools which are still existing after only one year.

Though there are numerous internal difficulties in the life of any new school, as our three phases indicate, the choice

between battling on or returning to the public schools (for many people) is no choice at all. Second, as Goodman has indicated, the fundamental structure of a school is simple: a group of younger people getting together with some interested adults. The remainder of the superstructure trappings, and gyrations are seen as ways of obfuscating the true function of education. Thus as long as the personal relationships among participants remain, survival as a "school" is not difficult.

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IV
Conventional Functions of Unconventional Schools

In this chapter we shall examine the alternative schools by some conventional dimensions of school operation:

A. Program
B. Governance
C. Finances
D. Legal Considerations

Within all four dimensions, we shall see a common thread of innovation which reflects both the shared ideology of these schools and their struggle for survival.

A. PROGRAM

The behavior of students and staff within a school will be examined in this section from a series of perspectives. First, we shall discuss the structure of program components; i.e. time, space, and activities. Second, we shall examine the relative emphases on academic success; and third, the degree of political involvement and thrust within types of alternative schools.

1. <u>The Structuring of Time, Space, and Activities</u>: Schools fill a broad spectrum in the structuring of time. At one end of the continuum, we have the traditional program, described by University of Chicago professor Philip Jackson as "a place where things often happen not because students want

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them to, but because it is time for them to occur."[1] Silberman likens the teacher in such schools to a "timekeeper."[2]

> Adherence to a timetable means that a great deal of time is wasted, the experiencing of delay being one of the inevitable outcomes of traffic management. No one who examines classroom life carefully can fail to be astonished by the proportion of the students' time that is taken up just waiting. The time is rarely used productively. Hence in the elementary grades, an able student can be absent from school for an entire week and, quite literally, catch up with all he has missed in a single morning.[3]

While Silberman believes that schools <u>waste</u> time by attempting to capture and control it, Kohl, in addition, sees the structuring of time as a device for narrowly controlling the lives of children: "I watched closely and suspiciously, realizing that the tightness of time that exists in elementary schools has nothing to do with the quantity that must be learned or children's needs. It represents the teacher's fear of loss of control and is nothing but a weapon used to weaken the solidarity and opposition of the children that too many teachers unconsciously dread."[4]

At the radical end of the time continuum is the a-temporal school in which events occur spontaneously as a result of school

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[1]Philip Jackson, <u>Life in the Classroom</u>, (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1968)

[2]Charles Silberman, <u>Crisis in the Classroom</u>, (New York: Random House, 1970), 123.

[3]<u>Ibid</u>.

[4]Herbert Kohl, <u>36 Children</u>, (New York: New American Library, 1967), 21

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members living together. Staff and students plan moments during their day when events are made to happen. Time is loosely enough arranged so that once programs begin, they are free to carry through to their conclusions.

In the elementary free school, there is little structuring of time. Students arrive at school in the morning and leave in the afternoon. During the day, students are free to involve themselves in activities at their own pace and on their own schedule. Staff stand by to assist students in whatever areas they choose. As the children tire of one activity, they move on to another, sometimes at the suggestion of another child or a teacher.

In the free high school, the emphasis is on the activities, not on the time taken by an event. Students spend days or even weeks working on projects without concern for the time involved. For example, students at Freedom House, Madison, Wisconsin, wrote, produced and performed a play for groups throughout the state. Three months work went into the program. At Bay High School, students and staff have devoted many months to equipping their new building for their use. The work went on continually.

The use of time is dependent, as we shall see, on the decision made on the allocation of space and the choice of activities. For the traditional school, time controls activities. In the free school, activities and the use of space structure time.

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In the use of space alternative schools show great ingenuity. Unlike the conventional school--where space is used to house rows of desks for common tasks--free schools divide space into functional areas which change with the interests of participants. If the program is limited to one room, partitions are built from bookshelves, curtains, and partial walls to create "corners" for reading, math, science, hard play, quiet games, and so on. For example, The Hedge School, Berkeley, has converted the basement of a church into a wonderland of activity areas. The school "room" can support numerous activities simultaneously, each with its own area, equipment, and atmosphere. When several rooms are available, all can be used to permit a flow of activities. The Free School, New Orleans, is blessed with nine rooms indoors and eight areas out-of-doors. With 42 children enrolled, the program has ample space for simultaneous sets of activities.

A third approach uses the community as a classroom. Parkway School (Philadelphia), Metro School (Chicago), and Gateway School (New Orleans), America's first three public experimental "schools without walls," were created with the concept of predominantly using community facilities as the classroom. This use of spatial arrangements, according to its originator, Englishman John Bremer, is based on the belief that though "American schools imagine students learn best in a special building separate from the community," in fact:

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> This has created a refuge in which students and teachers do not need to explore, only to accept. Within the "boxes" of school houses and classrooms, life is self-regulating, with no relation to anything outside itself, so it becomes a fantasy; it becomes unreal.[5]

With much "free" space in alternative schools students often yearn for some private space of their own. This need has been answered in some interesting ways. The Warehouse School in Boston, for example, has built a 4'x4'x4' cubicle for each student. He may decorate it, place rugs in it, put furniture in it, or leave it plain. Several students cut holes between their spaces so they could crawl through. This observer by mistake wandered into one of these cubicles and promptly an outraged eight-year-old ordered him out.

Free schools often fill their large spaces developmentally The Warehouse School divided off areas for hard recreation such as a wired-off "room" for volley-ball, designed lofts, built rooms for music and science, and so on. Bay High School, Berkeley, used a large garage for a broad range of purposes: machine shop, wood and printing shop, drama, candle-making, and dance. The Learning Place had an empty room. "When the students decide what they want," Walt Senterfitt explained,"it will get filled." Eventually, as the students got organized, a loft was built--a sign of the culmination of the Early Phase: Disorientation, discussed earlier.

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[5] Joan Kent, "School Without Walls," The States-Item, New Orleans, Tuesday, May 25, 1971, 20.

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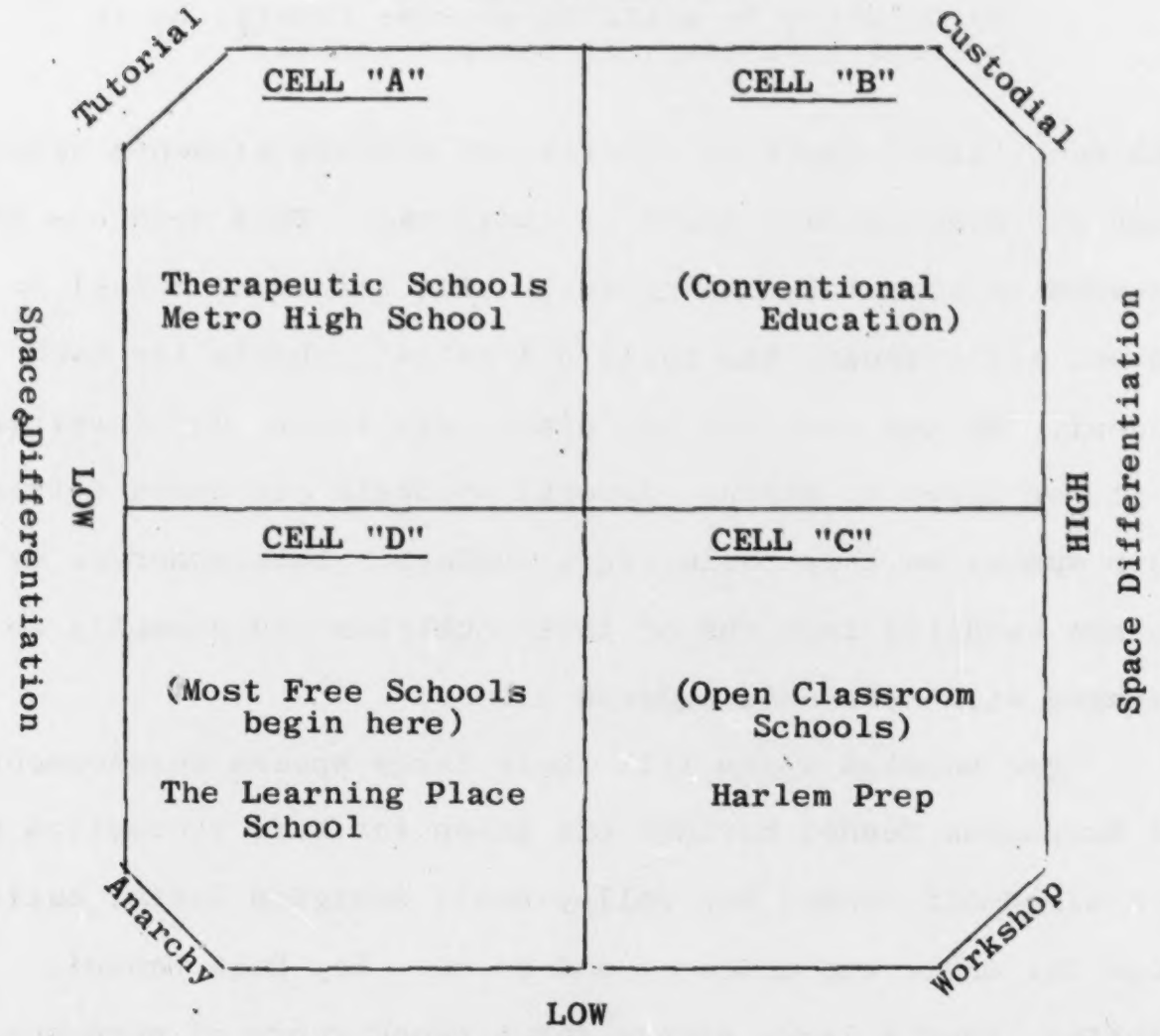

Figure 8. A Matrix of Time and Space Differentiation, Showing the Location of Sample Schools.

The degree of structured activity will affect the use of space and time. The traditional school cell (B) has a catalog of courses, which requires that rooms be assigned. The relationship between time and space is direct and highly interrelated. Students and staff are expected to be in a particular

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place at a pre-specified time (custodialism). In cell (D) the extreme is anarchy: no differentiation of time or space. Some free schools early in their career operate with few temporal or spatial commitments. The Learning Place School of San Francisco has remained relatively unstructured both in the time and space dimensions, though the 4,000 square foot room is being accommodated to the needs of the members. Lofts are being built, a theater area constructed, and a room set aside for music.

Cell (A) represents high time and low space differentiation. Thus, though a participant is scheduled at a specific place, the location is undifferentiated. The model of the tutorial, the therapeutic schools, and the "school without walls" fit this description. The highly developed use of space with few time constraints as suggested by the "workshop" would place schools like Harlem Prep (New York City) and open classroom schools in cell (C). The Prep offers a variety of learning areas in super-market fashion in which students shop for their own program. Often in free high schools, only one activity is planned for any one time. So if a student is not interested, he can stay home or sit around and talk. Lower schools give students some freedom of choice, but not the option to leave. The physical dangers to children who might walk out of school are too great.[6]

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[6]Few alternative high schools continue the concept of _in loco parentis_; elementary schools do by necessity.

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Freedom is built into the lower school by means of options within the room or rooms. Students often generate activities with or without adult support. It is in this milieu of the lower schools that the openness of time, place, and situation come together.

The natural blending of time, space, and action is captured by Featherstone's description of England's Westfield Infant School:

> If you arrive early, you find a number of children already inside, reading, painting, playing music, tending pets. Teachers sift in slowly and begin working with students. Apart from a religious assembly (required by law), it's hard to say just when school actually begins because there is very little organized activity for a whole class. The puzzled visitor sees some small group work in mathematics ("maths") or reading, but mostly children are on their own, moving about and talking freely . . . .
>
> The physical layout of the classroom is markedly different. American teachers are coming to appreciate the importance of a flexible room, but even in good elementary schools in the United States this usually means having movable, rather than fixed, desks. In the Westfield School there are no individual desks and no assigned places. Around the room there are different tables for different activities: art, water and sand play, number work.[7]

The developmental phases mentioned earlier might indicate that as schools grow and mature, there develops more structure. This appears from observation and testimony to be the case. Some school structure at the elementary level appears

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[7]Joseph Featherstone, Schools Where Children Learn, New York: Liveright, 1971),17.

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necessary for the security of staff and students alike. The difficulty is striking the balance between chaos and stultifying control. This equilibrium is often reached by comparing what the students need in terms of freedom and spontaneity to what the staff can tolerate and work with.

STAFF ROLE	Structured	Unstructured
Staff Initiate Initiated Activities	A Conventional classroom: single purpose, teacher-directed, closed.	B Free high school: Staff input, little physical structure. Activities-oriented, rather than materials oriented.
No Staff Initiation of Activities	C British infant school, "Open classrooms" and many American elementary free schools. Enriched environment, student initiated activities. Montessori classroom.	D Total "radical" free school: The Learning Place, no staff inputs nor structured setting. Or the earliest stages of a free school.

Figure 9. A Matrix of Staff Role and the Use of Space

In the free and freedom high schools, the situation is somewhat different than the conditions described above. Generally, it is not a dichotomous situation between either "wild," unproductive behavior or creative activity; rather high school students are either "turned on" or apathetic (meaning in some cases, absent): a dichotomy between inertia and involvement. The differences between elementary and secondary student involvement and degree of structure may be

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explained by separating the physical setting from the activities that go on there. The conventional classroom (Cell A) is pictured as being a structured setting, with prescribed, controlled, teacher-initiated activities. The totally "free" milieu (Cell D) has a non-structured setting and no adult initiative. This observer visited only one school with this degree of non-structure: The Learning Place in San Francisco. Even this school had begun structuring its 4,000 square foot space; but staff-initiated activities were minimal. The philosophy behind this laissez faire position is that students will get themselves together and initiate programs where and when they are ready. The staff role is to be supportive of and open to the needs of the students.

The free high school falls in Cell B. The space is generally unstructured with a number of multi-purpose rooms, piano, minimal laboratory equipment. The staff may generate some structure by introducing some interest areas, permitting the students to choose. Bay High, for example, publishes a description of the interests and skills of each staff member.

> MARK
> Math Tutoring from arithmetic through calculus and beyond.
> Yoga. Navigation (celestial and terrestrial). Psychology. Computer Programming. Flute-making, dulcimers, too.
> Mills Tape Music Center - Weekly trip to use the Moog and Buchla electronic music synthesizers. We also have access to a recording studio and film editing facility.[8]

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[8]"Bay High," (Brochure, 1971), 10.

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One school director explicitly stated that he disliked teachers who entered the classroom daily and asked, "Well, what do you want to do today?" In many free high schools, the policy is for staff to compile a "catalog." The students in turn may suggest additions (which is not done as often as many free school staff members would like).

Cell C, a structured setting with low staff initiation, is the British infant school, and many American free schools. The main difference between the American and British models--although the similarities far outweigh the differences--is the amount of teacher control. Free school teachers tend to be less directive. In the British infant school, on the other hand, "there is no abdication of adult authority and no belief that this would be desirable." Rather, the teacher's role is that of "active catalyst and stage manager,"[9] Joseph Featherstone explains in his book, Schools Where Children Learn. Furthermore, he characterizes the British open-classroom teacher as being serious about teaching in contrast to the American counterpart who feels that anyone can teach.

> The idea of giving children choices is a considered judgment as to how they best learn . . . . It is this deep pedagogical seriousness, the attention paid to learning in the classroom that makes the British primary school revolution so different from American progressive education.[10]

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[9]Joseph Featherstone, Schools Where Children Learn, New York: Liveright, 1971), 39.

[10]Ibid.

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This opinion is in contrast to the alternative school's belief that children learn in a supportive atmosphere without adult intervention.

Also the priorities of the two movements are different: American free schools are struggling for survival. Energies are diverted from pedagogical technique to more basic questions of recruiting students, orienting a diverse staff, raising funds, and in general, attempting to legitimate the entire program. The infant school phenomenon is occurring in an old, established system that has relative autonomy from parental interference, and full approval from the state.[11]

Both the American and English "open schools" stress the use of a varied milieu in which students choose activities that interest them. The staff in both types of schools is less concerned about control than in the traditional classroom.

2. Emphasis on Academic Success: Schools may be classified by their concern for a student's academic development. At one end of a continuum is Summerhill School where play is more important than work. Neill spells this out quite explicitly: "Summerhill might be defined as a school in which play is of the greatest importance. Why children and kittens play I do not know. I believe that it is a matter of energy level."[12] At the other end of the spectrum is the

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[11]In fact in some areas of England, the push for open classrooms has come from Her Majesty's Inspectors, the official arm of the Department of Education and Science.

[12]Neill, Summerhill, 62.

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public system in which rewards and sanctions are doled out to students based on their academic ranking in class. In between is a range of educational programs which structure in learning sessions among the free play, or which leave the student alone to do what "academic work" he will.

Both British infant schools and American free schools use "open" classrooms; both are non-authoritarian and unstructured. But the British model presupposes that children will spend a moderate amount of time per week on skill-building activities like reading, writing, and mathematics; the American free school makes no such assumptions. British teachers keep careful records to insure that in the fluid situation of the open classroom, the student's progress is being monitored: "It is essential for the teacher to keep detailed and accurate accounts of what a child is doing, even though at any given moment, she might not know what he's up to."[13] American teachers in free schools are little concerned if a student elects to do carpentry for the autumn--perhaps saving the book learning for the cold winter months.[14]

Both types of schools avoid group learning, concentrating on the one-to-one situation. The infant school teacher would use these tutoring sessions to work at academic areas; free school teachers, while they feel some need to do the same,

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[13]Featherstone, 17.

[14]This example received in an interview with Donna Zegarowiecz, November 4, 1971.

find that structuring a time and place is difficult--even finding a quiet corner is a problem.

The only hard data available comparing free school and public school teachers is Brian McCauley's study at Stanford University, surveying 100 radical alternative and 100 public school teachers in the Bay area as to their perceptions of their teaching tasks. In a choice between Character Development and Teaching Subject Matter, both groups of teachers believe that their primary task is not academic learning but "Teaching and/or stimulating citizenship, socialization, and character development. Approximately 92 and 95 percent in free and public schools respectively believe that Character

Task Perceptions
of Radical and Conventional Teachers

Task	Public	Free	Rank in Importance
Teaching Subject Matter	1.4	2.1	Second
Character Development	1.2	1.1	First
Maintaining Control	1.9	2.9	Third
Record Keeping	3.0	4.1	Fourth

Table 4

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Development is Very or Extremely Important."[15] Table 4 shows the comparison of the median values for the importance of four teacher tasks, ranked on a five point scale from Most to Least Important.

McCauley's questionnaire appears to have been insensitive to the differences between the role of teachers in conventional and radical education. The terms Character Building and Teaching Subject Matter are open to interpretation and are not indicative of what teachers do in various school settings. Thus an authoritarian teacher may feel he is building character when he disciplines a child; a free school teacher also believes he is developing the child's character when he leaves the child alone to work out his difficulty. Hence the linkages between task perception and actual practices are tenuous, as the results of this survey show.

3. Degree of Political Involvement: A third variable which is applicable to alternative schools in the United States is their awareness of themselves as a political force in the community. At the most general level, freedom schools working with poor families tend to be more political than free schools involving wealthier communities.

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[15]Brian L. McCauley, Evaluation and Authority in Radical Alternative Schools and Public Schools. (Unpublished dissertation, Stanford University, August, 1971), 142-143. A research report to be published by the Research and Development Center, Stanford University, supported in part by funds from U.S. Office of Education, HEW Contract # OEC-6-10-078.

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Community controlled education in low-income neighborhoods is a radical action in itself. The seizure and redistribution of power throughout the ghetto community entails the game of politics at its most basic level. The repercussions of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville controversy, although maintained within the public school system itself, conveyed the high level of political explosiveness to be found in community-controlled education.

The name "freedom school" connotes a political aim. Though this observer was unable within the scope of this study to amass data on the relative political impact of community freedom schools, there is testimony from several participants interviewed in this regard. Bob Graf, of the Independent Learning Center, Milwaukee, explained that the school was the only community organization on the Southside, a white, working-class ghetto. Families became involved in the various projects of the school. A car repair shop, a day-care center, a print shop, were just a few of the practical programs the school sponsored.

Some free schools emerged out of other community projects. Judy Macauley, Director of the E. Harlem Block Schools, related how the program began as a tutorial sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee; then the Day School was added, a first grade of twenty-one; an entire free school expanded to three locations. At each stage, the program expanded as the needs of the community became apparent. The overriding philosophy of the entire project is fostering a

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The overriding philosophy of the entire project is fostering a sense of community self-determination:

> Everyone connected with the Schools assumes that parents have the right to govern the quality of education received by their children, and to determine who has the right to teach in their school. Everyone assumes that teachers have the right to good supervision, to freedom from bureaucratic harassment, and a classroom situation which gives them the freedom to teach. Everyone agrees that children have the right to be themselves, in an environment where they can become their best selves, through emotional and intellectual involvement with each other and with responsible adults. Everyone connected with the School expects to be treated with respect.[16]

This community "declaration of independence" subsumes the freedom of students, parents, and teachers under one program, recognizing that the rights of all are dependent on the rights of each.

Middle-class free schools are generally less political. The emphasis is on "doing your own thing." Personal freedom to pursue what is appealing leads to an individuation of need, which in itself is a-political. Without group action, the potential political impact of a school is redirected.

This observer has noted at least three ways in which middle-class free schools have become politicized: (1) by being hassled by landlords or other authorities, (2) by the pressing need for funds, and/or (3) by reaching the third stage of development: that of community involvement.

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[16] East Harlem Block Schools, "Philosophy," (Mimeographed pamphlet, New York, 1969), 2-3.

The Elizabeth Cleaners Street School, New York City, for example, found quarters in an abandoned building in 1970. As "squatters" they naturally fell in with other groups in their fight for space.[17]

Several schools, in their search for funding sources, have considered sueing the state for funds, public transportation, or classroom space. One free school went to the local board of education and obtained a classroom with full supplies in a public school building. These efforts have thrust many formerly apolitical schools into the thick of local politics. A court case--over the rights of parents to receive their share of education funds to be spent as they see fit--might accomplish what Jencks' "voucher plan" is attempting to do through the legislative process.

And a few free schools have reached a stage of political involvement through an evolutionary process. After first cementing interpersonal relationships among themselves and then operating a series of program activities (classes, trips, projects), some schools began to involve themselves in the "real world." This turnabout came as a result of the boredom and frustration with the closedness of school activities. For example, staff at St. Mary's School, an innovative Catholic school in Chicago, related how their school went through the

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[17]"We were highly political in those days," one student admitted. "But now that we've moved to Greenwich Village, we're out of it. We're into the cultural thing, particularly meditation."

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three stages: an organizing phase, an internal activities stage, and finally, a community involvement phase. The Urban Experience Program at St. Mary's, in which students are placed in a community agency for a term, is indicative of the thrust outward. This movement has lead to a greater sense of political involvement.

Summary

In this section we have seen numerous dimensions along which one may arrange alternative schools: the relative structuring of time, space, and activities; the relative emphasis on academics versus freedom of activities; and the level of political involvement. These variables cross-cut the six types of schools we have previously examined and add depth to our analysis of alternative educational programs.

B. GOVERNANCE

Free schools often avoid the issue of formal governance. The memories of the way the "power structures" operate cause these schools to seek personalistic, informal means of making decisions. In this section we shall examine issues of decision-making involving parents, students, and teachers.

Many free schools have formally constituted boards of directors and administrators to fulfil the requirements for incorporation, and grant applications to governmental agencies and private foundations. In reality, these schools are run

by general consensus or majority vote in school meetings. These experiments in raw democracy are based on the belief that the fate of the school community should be decided by all its members. A model of total school governance followed by free schools is the Summerhill School. As Neill explains,

> Summerhill is a self-governing school, democratic in form. Everything connected with social or group life, including punishment for social offenses, is settled by vote at the Saturday General Meeting.
>
> Each member of the teaching staff and each child, regardless of his age, has one vote. My vote carries the same weight as that of a seven year old.[18]

Schools which do not involve parents in the day-to-day running of the program (this would include most high school programs and some teacher-run elementary free schools) are more likely to have a functioning board. Thus parents would be given the opportunity to guide and support the school.

Make-up of the Board. Elementary schools have a possibility of one of the four combinations of people on their boards: (1) parents only, (2) staff only, (3) a mixed parent-staff board, or (4) no functioning board at all. In the day-to day function of a particular school, decisions are usually made by whomever is participating on a regular basis: staff, parents, or a mixed group.

Students are active in high school governance. Thus boards are often comprised of a three-way mix of students,

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[18]Neill, 45.

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staff, and parents. Again the workaday decisions at school involve only those present, students and staff, or in some cases, students only. No free high school which this researcher visited left students out of the decision-making process.

In free schools with a wide age range of students (six to eighteen, for example), general decisions were made by the entire community--as in the Summerhill School. But decisions affecting only one age group--like the number of sliding boards to install or the instituting of driver's training--would be made in divisional meetings.

Board Function. There is no consistent pattern as to the existence or responsibilities of a "board." Few private free schools pay much attention to a formal body of this type; rather the procedure is to call all persons involved to a meeting and work things out. As we have already mentioned, boards exist often to satisfy the state and private foundations.

In such schools, parents may be asked to make all major decisions such as fiscal policy and staff recruitment--since they (the parents) must pay for them.

Three key variables affect the formality and power of school boards: (1) age of the school, (2) size of the school, and (3)community control.

(1) Age of the school: There is a tendency to institutionalize governance as schools grow older. At first schools rarely have the time to maintain a formal organization; but the difficulty of later initiating each successive generation of families into the "way things are done" makes it far easier

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to routinize the whole process of running the school.

(2) Size: Our data indicate that free schools grow larger each year. When their size reaches about 80, decision-making in large groups becomes so frustrating that the group is often willing to give up some of its "power" to accommodate administrative efficiency. Other schools become aware of what is lost by a large enrollment and seek to keep things small, though in some cases it is more economical to grow.

(3) Community Controlled Schools: Since these schools are closely related to a particular neighborhood, they often have a more formal and more powerful board. Whereas the middle-class schools represent no one but themselves, community schools have mechanisms to insure some community input. Most find that a neighborhood election succeeds in gaining the legitimacy necessary to maintain community support.

In community schools--and some free schools--boards control a range of activities, including (1) the hiring and firing of staff, (2) the size and growth rate of schools, (3) the content and method of instruction, (4) the expenditure of funds for salaries, rent, materials, publicity, etc. (5) the funding sources to use, (6) the types of students to recruit, (7) the size, function, and power of the board itself, and so on. Though community boards have the authority to make any and all decisions, most boards are sensitive to the needs of staff. Matters of pedagogical technique are usually left up to the professions: "Everyone assumes that teachers have the right to good supervision, to freedom from bureaucratic

harassment, and a classroom situation which gives them freedom to teach."[19]

Public alternative schools are governed by the board of education. History over the last five years has shown that these boards are unwilling to give up their authority to local communities or to renegade administrators within the system. In Chicago, Mrs. Barbara Sizemore, head of the Woodlawn Experimental School District, was removed when it became apparent that she was not going to follow directives from the school board or the Model Cities Board--both of which were politically vulnerable. Teachers' unions also have control over public alternatives as the situation in Ocean Hill-Brownsville indicates.

Administrator and Staff Function. In free schools the image of the school administrator harkens back to the public school image of the principal. He becomes the symbol of the hierarchical, authoritarian structure which free school people detest. Thus free schools avoid threatening titles like principal in favor of milder terms like coordinator or director, or in many cases, select no leader at all! (Often someone is notified that he is their leader in case a foundation, governmental agency, or state department of education happens to call.)

Who then runs the school? How are administrative functions performed? In some cases, they are not performed. Or some-

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[19]"E. Harlem Block Schools," 3.

one does what is necessary. Or things are done, but much more slowly.

The exception to this administrative style is the school founded and run by a single individual. The free school entrepreneurs--men and women like Knowles and Darlene Doughtery of Warehouse School (Boston), Walt and Pam Senterfitt of The Learning Place (San Francisco) and Norman and Susan Baron of Rockland Project School (Blauvelt, New York)--have their goals set, are clearly established from the beginning as the "leader," and shape the program early while there is less resistance.

In community freedom schools, the relationship between leader and the school-community is more professional. He is hired by the community out of grant money to operate the program. He is expected to be directive but sensitive to the problems in the community. The community looks to the administrator for leadership, for members have neither the time for nor experience in operating a school. Similarly, the teachers are hired and given the room necessary for them to function. Teachers often share their classrooms with members of the community.

The staff in middle-class free schools has more power and autonomy than in conventional educational systems. They sit on boards of directors as well as directing the everyday life of the school. In free schools, since there is little difference among adults, all are given equal say in the operation of the school. They are unencumbered (and sometimes

unprotected) by traditions or status.

A number of situations weaken the role of staff in the function of schools: the influence of parents and students, the lack of clarity of who is "staff" since these schools function with numerous volunteers, part-time, and full-time adults, and the instability of the schools themselves.

Student Function. The amount of student control in open schools depends on the age of the students, the size of the school, and the philosophy of the staff. Few schools for elementary children are structured so that the students make the vital decisions. Rather parents and teachers decide on faculty, facilities and program. Only within the narrow limits of the classroom are students free to "govern" their own lives individually and as a group. But in most free high schools and some community schools, students sit on the board, share as equals in the decisions and implementation of policy, and perform the tasks of hiring and firing teachers. The general school meeting focuses the attention of all school members on the problems of governance: many schools use a simple majority vote. A few prefer the style of the Quaker meeting, a consensus.

Larger schools find full student participation to be overly time consuming and unsatisfactory. Often a "student council" is elected to represent all the students. If a formally constituted group like a student board becomes the major vehicle of student involvement, the level of real participation decreases.

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The philosophy of the staff determines the structure of the student governance within the high school. At the Milwaukee Independent School, for example, staff expect student leadership since from the beginning the program was established and staff hired with the direction of students. Since the original group of student initiators has left, the new generation is less clear about how to run a school. They are looking to staff for assistance. "We are unclear," a staff member explained, "how much we are supposed to do. Last year the students ran the show. This is their school."[20] The resolution to the dilemma of student-staff governance comes in part as members redefine the kinds of decisions which students want and need to make, those which could be left to staff, and those to be shared.

C. FINANCE

A major portion of this section will analyze the revenue sources and budget priorities of alternative schools. The long list of funding sources is extensive, reflecting, in part, the results of these schools' constant search for financial assistance, not a cornucopia of enthusiastic donors. The remainder of this section will compare the per pupil expenditure of alternative schools and public schools.

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[20]Field notes, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, September 12, 1971.

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1. Free Schools: Private free schools for middle-class students depend extensively on tuition. Based on recent data collected for the "Directory" of new schools, we estimate that about $6,311,000 was collected from parents for tuition last year. This figure is based on an average charge of $528.00 per student. Over 90 % of all funds for these schools come from tuition, collected on a sliding scale from $0 to $900 for day schools, from $0 to $2,900 for boarding schools.[21] The amount of tuition is usually determined by (1) family size, (2) family income, and (3) number of children currently enrolled in the school. Sometimes arrangements are made for parents to work at the school. A number of scholarships are available (in 73% of the schools charging tuition). A few middle-class free high schools have elected to charge no tuition. This decision enables "emancipated" students, those who no longer live at home, to attend without parental support or approval, in some cases. But these schools have no income and cannot hire full-time staff.

A second source of funds is the contribution. When schools are starting, some interested members of the community pledge some support. But this source is neither steady nor sufficient. Less than 5% of the middle-class alternative school's budget comes from contributions.

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[21] Free Schools: A Directory of Alternative Schools, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Center for Law and Education, 1971).

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II. Freedom Schools. Schools working with low-income families are eligible for grants from federal, state, and foundation sources. It is estimated that grants totalled about $1.7 million dollars to all alternative schools from public and private sources.

A. Federal Sources:

1. Emergency School Assistance Program: (ESCAP) designed to aid school systems with their desegregation efforts, ESCAP can be applied for by public school systems and community groups with 90% going to the former, 10 to the latter. At least one free school, The Free School, New Orleans, has applied for these funds as a community school. The basis for this school's request is first, that it functions as a place where white and black children come together. Secondly, the school feels that as a model, it can influence the public schools to try "open classrooms." Already, at the public Lusher School, an open classroom system has attracted white families back into the school system, a reversal of the trend since court-enforced desegregation began in 1967. As of the writing of this report, The Free School had not heard about the outcome of their grant request.

2. Safe Streets, Omnibus Bill #68: The Independent Learning Center, (ILC), Milwaukee, Wisconsin, has received a grant of about $75,000. under this program. The funds are available for "delinquency prevention" and rehabilitation in Milwaukee's South Side community. Other schools working in

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high-crime neighborhoods may take advantage of these funds. ILC gears its program to skill building and motivation for these youths, most of whom have dropped out of the regular system.

3. Addiction Prevention: Several schools have staff members being paid by local, state and national drug education and treatment programs. Unattached social workers have gravitated toward free schools as a stable place to work with "street youths."

4. Elementary and Secondary School Act (ESEA): Only public alternative schools are eligible for direct funding from ESEA, though all schools could receive ancillary assistance. For example, library, reading, and counseling services, and some nursing care could be administered (through the local superintendent) to private free and freedom schools which qualified under the income criteria. The Gateway School, New Orleans, was opened under a $100,000 Title I grant from ESEA, as America's third "school without walls." It is part of the public school system of Orleans Parish, employing nine certified teachers and using over 70 community resource people as volunteer teachers.

5. Family Services Funds and the Courts: Schools which work with orphans or foster children, children on probation, or with special emotional problems receive state money on a per child basis. The Freedom House, Madison, Wisconsin, for example, began as a special non-authoritarian program for

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students who were wards of the court, etc. They charged $120 per child per month for students received from state agencies, and no tuition for students without state support.

6. The Experimental Schools Act: Eight communities have received funding for an alternative schools system within the public schools. Berkeley Unified School District received $3.6 million for 24 experimental schools ranging from black and Latin-run to an art and environmental school.

7. Follow Through: Office of Education funds have been allocated to some alternative schools through this program. E. Harlem Block Schools, a network of schools, tutoring and day care services, received Follow Through money as a "model sponsor." The purpose of the program is to pick up students from Head Start and carry them through into elementary school.

8. Model Cities: The Federation of Milwaukee Independent Schools contains seven community schools which were once Catholic elementary programs. The St. Michael's School, now Michael Community School, has a current budget of some $92,390, $28,000 of which is Model Cities (SIIP) funding. Other community schools are eligible for Model Cities support, both public and private programs, as long as they serve an eligible neighborhood.

B. State Funds

1. Food programs: School lunches, milk, and surplus food are available in some states to nonpublic schools, if they serve low-income children.

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10. Personnel Services: Some states provide counseling services for children in trouble with police or in emotional difficulty. Some schools may take advantage of the source of support.

11. Transportation: Many states carry public and non-public students on school buses. Though this may be of only marginal benefit to alternative schools, some are making use of the service. In one case, The Cooperative School (Wintergreen) in Madison, the local superintendent refused transport on the grounds that they were not a school.

12. Direct Grants: At least four states--Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Illinois--have passed laws providing "purchase of secular services." If and when these laws become operable, (the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled unfavorably on some aspects of these laws on First Amendment grounds.), free and freedom schools would be eligible.

C. Private Funds:

1. Foundations: These organizations provide a major source of funds for many community schools. E. Harlem Block Schools appealed to numerous foundations, receiving in 1969 an average of $10,000 per donor. Foundations prefer schools for minority, low-income families. In some cases, it was a foundation grant--in response to a specific proposal--that launched the school in the first place. Malcolm [X] Shabazz Memorial High School did not exist at the time of the grant.

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It was created as a part of an educational package funded at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Numerous free and community schools, going into their second or third year, are facing the possibility of losing foundation support after becoming dependent upon it. In some cases, their future depends upon being picked up by the local board of education--Malcolm Shabazz, for example. In others, programs must be curtailed or more fee-paying students recruited. Free school leaders have expressed apprehension about becoming dependent on outside funding sources.

2. Industry: Like foundations, industry chooses to fund programs for low-income communities on a short-term basis. But numerous schools are receiving support from various companies. In some cases, companies contribute equipment and materials.

3. Religious Institutions: As the Catholic church ceases to operate parochial schools, it will be freer to support selected experiments in education. Often in the process of turning parish schools over to communities, the church will assist the new school during the interim. St. Mary's of Chicago, for example, is supported in part by the order of sisters that owns the facilities.

4. In-kind Personnel Services: Since staff salaries are the major expense in any school operation, free personnel contributions are a real benefit. The following types of people have given free service to alternative schools:

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a) Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) have started and worked in free schools with some success. In some cases, however, these workers find school work too confining; they would prefer to work more freely in the community.

b) Conscientious Objectors: The men have been assigned to alternative schools although there are some steps necessary before a new school is made eligible. (In one school, I found a CO working as a baker for a system of community programs.)

c) Student Teachers: Several schools have worked out arrangements with nearby schools of education to receive teacher interns. Particularly in elementary alternative schools, student teachers can provide the personal attention the children need--while receiving an unusual experience in comparison to colleagues entering conventional classrooms. (One university supervisor complained that there was nothing to observe when she came to the school to evaluate the student teacher.)

d) Unattached Social Workers: Street workers have "attached" themselves to schools or have cooperated with them in bridging the gap between student, home, and community.

e) Volunteers: A final word for the volunteers! No alternative school could operate without them. They come in all shapes and sizes: parents, college students, unemployed teachers, et al. Special note is made of the experts who volunteer their services: architects who design the building, lawyers who incorporate and fight for schools; contractors

and handymen who renovate and maintain the buildings--all who work for no pay. Over half the services performed for alternative schools are done by volunteer labor. In the search for funds, university people assist by writing proposals to foundations and governmental agencies, an art in itself.

Budget Priorities

A. Free Schools

1. Personnel: The major yearly expense in any given school is staff salaries. Efforts are made to use this budget item frugally by the use of volunteers, part-time paid staff, and full-time staff at a subsistence level. $400 is an average monthly salary for an alternative school teacher; many work for less.

2. Buildings: Rent is the next most costly item to salaries. Schools often open in small temporary quarters in a church or school at minimal cost: $250 per month, for example. As their numbers grow, however, the need for space forces the school to select a larger, more self-contained site. Warehouse School, for example, left Cambridge, and found the second floor of a factory useful: it was large, bright, set away from complaining neighbors, and relatively inexpensive--$1,900 a month including heat. Bay High made a similar decision, to rent a warehouse with a large garage area for shops, drama, etc., and 11 rooms in a two-story wing in the front. Rent here again is $1,900. Rent in this range puts great pressure

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on the meager income of the school. Special projects must be fulfilled to raise the money.

Other schools "escape" into a rural setting. Here they find the solace, space and inexpensive facilities they need. Interestingly, The Coop School (Madison) has rented a one-room schoolhouse in the country. As one staff member commented, "It's like turning back the calendar to early 1900." The average free school moves about three times before settling on an acceptable location: one which is large and cheap enough, where neighbors won't complain about the mess and noise, and which is easily accessible.

3. Materials and Equipment: Schools show amazing creativity in making and/or scrounging the equipment they need. In the free elementary schools, funds are spent mainly on basic science equipment and educational games; in high schools, major investment occurs in shop and craft materials such as potter's wheels, carpentry tools, and printing presses. As non-profit corporations, these schools qualify for government surplus materials.

B. Freedom Schools

The situation for public alternatives and community schools is considerably different. Public alternatives receive full funding as does any public school, plus in many cases extra monies from grants. Their difficulties are not the lack of money; rather they complain that the money they receive is practically all committed. Salaries are regulated by contract

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and state salary schedule; funds for buildings and renovation are controlled by the boards of education. One director of a public alternative program admitted that out of a budget of $180,000, only $4,000 was available for staff and student use; the rest was tied up in salaries, facilities, and equipment.

Community schools, though they often pay higher salaries to the professional staff, have an obligation to employ as many people from the community as possible. Forty percent of the staff at E. Harlem Block School are from the neighborhood. Often jobs are duplicated by having a professional and a "paraprofessional" (a rather meaningless word in alternative education) from the community acting in the same capacity. But the purpose of community education is involvement, not "administrative efficiency."

Per Pupil Expenditure

Private alternative schools, as a group, have a per pupil expenditure (ppe) that is considerably lower than that of the public sector. The difference becomes even more dramatic when we take into consideration several other factors. First, free school figures for ppe include rent, a large expense, whereas public ppe does not include capital expenditures. Second, if we compare the fourteen states where 85% of the free schools are found, the ppe for public schools is $940, and for alternative schools, $783. Lower ppe does

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not necessarily mean less qualified teachers; in fact McCauley's dissertation established that free school teachers in the Bay area had higher degrees from more prestigious universities than their public school counterparts.[22]

Summary

Alternative schools receive funds from a wide variety of sources, both private and public. Middle class schools, generally speaking, survive on tuition and small donations; community schools qualify for state, national, and foundation support. All alternatives show great adaptability in the use of volunteers, employing them as teachers, tutors, handymen, architects, and legal advisors.

These schools expend their greatest quantity of funds for salaries, with rent coming second. In the private sector, funds are controlled by the people most intimately involved. In free schools, the staff, parents, and in some cases, the students decide how money is to be raised and spent; in community schools, a board representing the parents and the surrounding neighborhoods makes all decisions affecting expenditures. Public alternative schools in most cases do not have control over their own funds: final word rests with the local boards of education. The absence of power over the purse is a major problem for public alternative schools.

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[22] McCauley, 148.

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D. LEGAL CONSIDERATIONS

Both states and local agencies regulate nonpublic schools. Five purposes underlie these regulations: (1) to insure school attendance, (2) to prohibit the instruction of socially dangerous concepts, (3) to seek cultural unity, (4) to provide quality standards, and (5) to protect families from dangerous health, safety, and business practices.[23] The enactment and enforcement of state regulations in these five areas has been the subject of long debate: on the one hand, the state should insure "an adequate education for all children"[24] by establishing some standards and requirements; on the other, the schools should be free to pursue distinctive educational programs without being overly hindered by state and local regulations. It is the sensitive balance between societal needs and individual liberties vis-a-vis education which sets the backdrop for our discussion of free and freedom schools and the law.

As of the writing of this report, no alternative school has been closed permanently by public authorities. However, Coop #2 of Chicago was raided by the police and closed for a month. Students were charged with truancy and adults with

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[23] John Elson, "State Regulation of Nonpublic Schools: The Legal Framework," in Donald A. Erickson, Public Controls for Nonpublic Schools, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 104.

[24] Ibid., 103.

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contributing to the delinquency of minors, but the charges were later dropped. Parents interviewed believed that "the raid woke people up . . . . There seemed to be a need for shock, like the arrest, for change."[25]

This observer witnessed great concern by many alternative school members about the legal "hang-ups" of operating a program. Before examining nine specific legal areas affecting these nonpublic schools, we shall examine two broader concepts:

First, What legally constitutes a "school"? Since attendance is required in 48 states, the question then becomes who defines where a child may fulfil his compulsory attendance requirement? "Radical" schools may be challenged legally on the grounds that their program is not a "school." Coop #2 faced this problem: to the policemen in the raid, this program did not fit their definition of what constituted a school.

Second, as Christopher Jencks points out, What is meant by public and nonpublic?

> Since the nineteenth century we have classified schools as "public" if they were owned and operated by a governmental body. We go right on calling colleges "public" even when they charge tuition that many people cannot afford. We also call academically exclusive high schools "public" when they have admissions requirements that only a handful of students can meet. And we call whole school systems "public" even when they refuse to give anyone information about what they are doing, how well they are doing it, and whether children are getting what their parents want. Conversely, we have always called schools "private" if they

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[25]Mary Lutynski, Unpublished Master's paper, University of Chicago, Department of Education, 1969, 7.

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> were owned and operated by private organizations. We have gone on calling these schools "private" even when, as sometimes happens, they are open to every applicant on a non-discriminatory basis, charge no tuition, and make whatever information they have about themselves available to anyone who asks.
>
> Definitions of this kind conceal as much as they reveal, for they classify schools entirely in terms of <u>who</u> runs them, not <u>how</u> they are run.[26]

Free and freedom schools are challenging both questions. As we have already mentioned, the idea of what comprises a school becomes salient, as schools become more unconventional." Second, private schools like Children's Community Workshop School (New York City) and The Free School (New Orleans) fulfil Jencks' definition of "public." They are open, on a first-come, first-served basis; they charge no tuition; and they are accountable to parents and community people alike. Yet they receive no funds from the state or the local school district.

Already several private schools have attempted to obtain public support: one sought status as a separate school district which would entitle it to state support; another school network is thinking along similar lines. Wari School, Berkeley, was able through the threat of a suit to receive a public classroom. Their case was based on the grounds that all the children lived in the school zone, that the families

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[26]Christopher Jencks, <u>Education Vouchers: A Report on Financing Elementary Education by Grants to Parents</u>, (Cambridge, Mass.: Center for the Study of Public Policy, December, 1970), 13-17.

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were local taxpayers, and that they accepted all children for whom they had room without tuition. The Berkeley Board of Education leased the classroom to the parents and provided full classroom supplies. To satisfy the state, the Board assigned the principal of the school as the teacher in the room, though he rarely enters it.

Some private schools are considering a court case over the rights of parents to a proportional share of funds for their own use in the education of their children. Or perhaps free schools would claim to public funds in Jenck's definition of "public."

In order to survive, new alternative schools must be cognizant of the following legal areas.[27]

1. Compulsory Education: All states except Mississippi and South Carolina require school attendance for at least 10 years. Unless a free or freedom school acepts only older students, as many do (for example,Harlem Prep, and Detroit Free School), it will have to assure its members that they will not be truant when in attendance. This will require that the new school be recognized by some state agency, usually the state department of education, as a bona fide school. This has not as a rule been difficult. Often states regulate public schools extensively, but virtually overlook nonpublic ones. In

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[27]For a useful discussion of alternative schools and the law, see Stephen Arons', Alternative Schools: A Practical Manual, (Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Law and Education, 1971).

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In Massachusetts, for example, Arons reports that local authorities are quite willing to recognize alternative schools, since these programs accept the "troublesome" students whom the public systems cannot reach.

2. Accreditation: Though it is rarely required by law, schools may seek accreditation as a means to attract students. Accreditation is handled by private educational associations, which work with public, private, higher and lower educational institutions. Occasionally, free and freedom schools will attach themselves to an existing accredited school in order to share the privileges. The Independent Learning Center, Milwaukee, for example, "has become a satellite school of Pius XI High School, in cooperation with the North Central Regional Accrediting Agency; through this relationship, the program and diploma will be recorded and accredited as a satellite school and the ILC will retain full control over goals, curriculum, and structure as a private, non-sectarian high school."[28]

Public alternatives appear to have the worst of both worlds. They attempt to have an innovative program while having to meet standardized requirements. Gateway School, New Orleans, had met with its accrediting association. Complaints: not enough teachers in spite of the use of over 70 community resources people; not enough laboratory equipment even though students had access to the University of Louisiana chemistry building; not enough learning space, though the

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[28]"Independent Learning Center," (Mimeographed proposal, 1970).

concept of the "school without walls" had been explained. Other public alternatives had complained about similar difficulties in meeting accreditation requirements.

3. Building Codes: Depending on the state and locality, safety, fire and health codes can be most salient. Sites are carefully selected in some cases because of the stringency of codes. Often schools remain in cramped churches or schoolrooms because they have been declared up to standard. Arons reports that "this [codes] is one area where schools may have problems of such magnitude that they may be prohibited from opening. The Warehouse Schools, for example, had a building picked out but could not use it because it did not meet the building code standards."[29] Often relatively large sums of money are spent putting in fire walls, sprinkler systems, doors, stairs, and windows of a certain size and materials.

In this national survey, it is impossible to outline all the codes state by state, municipality, by municipality, inspector by inspector. Needless to say, this area of the law perhaps as much as any traps the functioning of alternative schools in bureaucratic red tape.

4. Zoning Regulations: Few schools are able to afford plants of their own design. Most find that old homes or old commercial facilities are cheapest, centrally located, and in an area where neighbors will be tolerant or non-existent. Occasionally, in attempts to convert a single family dwelling into

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[29]Arons, Manual, 39

school, alternative programs have run afoul of the zoning codes. Reactionary authorities are particularly concerned that a family dwelling not become a "hippie commune," or a business enterprise.

5. Curriculum: Thirty-one states regulate curricula of which only ten define required courses which all students must take.[30] Many requirements pertain only if the school offers a state-accepted diploma. Since many alternatives give a "paper" one, the absence of a state-supported diploma relieves many schools from worrying about curriculum. Others merely teach what they want, and label them in keeping with state requirements. For example, a state may require American history; a free school may teach a course in "imperialism" and call it American history.

Since there is no standardized curriculum in American schools, no national tests based on a core curriculum--like the "ordinary" and "advanced" levels examinations in England--and no standard requirements for college entry, alternative schools have the freedom to teach or ignore virtually any course of study. College entrance examinations test achievement in only the broadest sense, focusing on grammar, reading, vocabulary, and spelling in the Verbal parts, and basic algebra and geometry in the Quantitative sections.

6. Teacher Certification: Only six states, Alabama, Nebraska North Carolina, Michigan, Iowa, and Washington demand

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[30]Stolee, "Nonpublic Schools: What Must They Teach?" Schools and Society, 92 (1964), 274.

certification of nonpublic school teachers. In Michigan, the most urbanized, industrial of these states, this requirement--plus a number of others--has impeded the growth of full-time alternatives. Solstice School, Ann Arbor, for example, has remained an after-school program because of the stringency of state regulations.

Certification in most states requires a bachelor's degree, a number of education courses, some practical experience, some statements on general health, and perhaps citizenship. States do not always reciprocate: thus a teacher's certificate in one state may not be valid in another.

Free and freedom schools do not seem concerned about the paper qualifications of staff. Often they include one certified teacher for each group of non-certified ones, to keep the authorities happy. The plethora of staff arrangements prevents any clear policy from emerging, however. The typical combination would include a few certified teachers, a group of parent volunteers (elementary free and community schools), a group of outside volunteers from a nearby college, and some specialists--craftsmen, writers, carpenters, drama and arts people--who may or may not be certified, but who donate a few hours a week in these areas.

My data would indicate that less than half of adults working in alternative schools have professional credentials. With the surplus of "trained" teachers, however, schools can and do recruit many more certified personnel than are required by authorities.

7. Medical Release Form: Though not required by law, these forms are often requested of parents. In case of injury at school, the staff members can obtain any medical assistance necessary for the well-being of the child.

8. Liability: Usually of no concern, some schools do insist on a form being signed by parents indicating that the child has permission to be at the particular school. This may be difficult with some free high schools since the student may be "emancipated" (not living at home) and not under any parental supervision. Also some schools have liability insurance (not many) to protect against accident suits.

9. Non-profit Corporation Status: As the need for funds and equipment occurs, schools seek non-profit status. This removes the problem of taxes, entitles them to surplus government materials, and prepare the way for public and private grants and donations.

Summary

In summary, free schools are challenging the concepts of what legally constitutes a school and the legal differences between public and private. Survival in the future depends on some accommodation to the legal requirements for minimum health, safety, and fire standards and some status as a school (certification, licensing). Perhaps the struggle for alternative education will be in the courtroom, not the classroom, as these "schools" seek to survive.

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V
The Future

An evaluation of the future of the alternative schools movement is dependent in part upon an assessment of its past. Unfortunately, precious little research has been done into the impact of these schools on other schools and communities; into the attainment of goals, or even the formulation of them; into the affective and cognitive growth of children in alternative school settings (i.e., nonstructured free schools and community-controlled freedom schools); or into the development of pedagogy for these new classrooms. Thus the thrust of this final chapter will be mostly speculation based on the information available.

Summary: Most of these alternative schools as a group are new with 62% of them having opened since 1970; they are small with 67% enrolling less than 40 children; 81% of free schools are mainly for middle-class children since tuition averages $425 a year, totalling over $6 million for all schools combined; the staff is young with two-thirds under thirty years of age. About the freedom schools for minority commun-

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ities, we know that on the average they enroll larger student groups, about 110 students; that they charge no tuition but received over $3 million in grants from public and private sources in 1970.

We know that free schools experiment in the areas of governance and program. They avoid elevating individuals to positions of power on boards or through titled positions. Instead people represent themselves in face-to-face situations where decisions are made. Freedom school members, however, vote for representatives from their neighborhoods who sit on a legally constituted board. Powers reside with the board except where delegated to staff or other parents.

The community school is more traditional in its approach to academic subjects, discipline, and teaching methods. As we have seen, the parents' concerns for their children's survival and expanded life-chances impose a sense of urgency and purpose upon the program. The emphases are upon (1) basic skills, (2) motivation, and (3) ethnic identification. The middle-class alternatives experiment with use of time, space, and activity, as we have discussed.

We have also noted that though the free and freedom schools are very different programs resulting from different needs, they are both unified in rejecting the public system. Both believe in community and familial self-help which can be translated into operable educational programs.

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Problems of Research: Research on free and freedom schools should be sensitive to the differences in goals and goal clarity. Freedom schools present a series of specific aims to to their constituencies: (1) Community development: in terms of street improvements, monies coming into the community from federal, state, and local agencies, increased power with local politicians, etc; (2) Opportunities for students: often these schools take drop-outs and reclaim them, getting them into college or trade school; help students with personal problems like drug addiction, and so on; (#) Jobs for adults: community schools offer meaningful employment to parents, professionals and semi-professionals in the community; and (4) symbols of pride for community members. Taking Harlem Prep as an example, let us illustrate these points. This school bought a supermarket, invested over $100,000 in the plant, having the building declared a "school" to save it fromuurban renewal. This kind of investment contributes to the stability of the neighborhood. Though most students are over sixteen and have been "unsuccessful" in conventional schools, director Ed Carpenter is able to guarantee a student an excellent chance at further education, whether college or vocational school. They can point to the number of students admitted and funded at college as a mark of success. They can show the numbers of local residents working as teachers, assistant teachers, maintenance people, etc. They can illustrate the involvement of the community in their program, the influence they have with local politicians, artists from across

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the country, the fame of their graduates. All these criteria of success are clear and demonstrable.

The typical free school, on the other hand, has fuzzier goals, less widely accepted symbols of success, and less unanimity among members. One recurring statement of success is, "Well, we are still in operation." The entire goal orientation of the free school movement is confusing. They want their students "to succeed" in the system, yet they are not success oriented; they stress individuality and communality. They want to withdraw from society while at the same time working to change it; they are both political and counter-cultural.

The conventional means of evaluating schooling simply would not work in these schools. Facilities are primitive: plus or minus? The children are not forced to learn to read (and some may not till quite late): good or bad? Students do not go on to college and into a "middle-class" job: positive or negative score? Staff turnover is high, as people move in and out at will: etc.

Attaining agreement among free school members as to what a successful school is would be difficult if not impossible. Those in the movement for a while become tired of the lack of structure and activity; those newly arrived revel in it. The researcher would be forced to take an eclectic approach, measuring both conventional attainment such as reading, writing, verbal and mathematical skill as well as the less quantifiable variables, such as a sense of satisfaction, sense of worth,

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self-reliance, etc. And since much of free school life occurs in small groups--the average free school student population being less than 40--some measure of group interaction, cohesiveness, efficiency, and mutual support would be a good indicator of success.

The impact of free schools on conventional systems (and vice versa) is another important area of future research. Limited data are available showing the influence of alternative programs. One example, however, is the impact of The Free School, New Orleans, upon the Orleans Parish Public Schools. According to a recent proposal submitted to the Office of Education, "The Free School is to be a continuous feasibility study of adapting this proven method [open classrooms] of education in the urban South in general and Orleans Parish in particular.[1] Resulting from interest in open schools generated by The Free School (a private elementary program for 42 children), the public system created space for 30 children at Lusher Elementary in an open classroom experiment. Sixty-eight families applied; four moved into the school district to have an opportunity to attend. A dual lottery system, one for whites and one for blacks, was instituted to insure an integrated program at Lusher. White families seem willing to return their children to integrated public schools if the program is innovative.

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[1]The Free School's proposal to the Office of Education, under the Emergency School Assistance Program, submitted on September 22, 1971, p. 7.

Another example is the Independent Learning Center, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. It was created with "juvenile delinquency prevention" funds, Crime Bill #68, to teach basic skills and community development to lower-class white students. The function of ILC was not to create a separate school system, "but even more interesting is the possibility," the written statement continues,

> that the Milwaukee Public Schools may be able to utilize the ILC model in expanding the range of educational alternatives offered by public high schools. Educators agree that different students learn best in different ways. Choice should be available.[2]

And another way to affect the public schools would be for a large alternative school to join the system. A group of parents in Cambridge, Massachusetts, wants to open an alternative school which is part of the public system. Other private schools may request to be made a part of a system after a few years on their own.

Alternative schools, whether conventional or radical, have an impact on the communities in which they are located. Again, little convincing data are available. However, Professor Donald A. Erickson, in his study of "South Shore," Chicago, did conclude that "there are CP ("change-threatened, positively reacting") communities in which nonpublic schools make a profound contribution to the achievement and maintenance of

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[2] "Independent Learning Center, Milwaukee, Wisconsin," (mimeographed, 1970), 11.

stable racial integration."[3] The conclusion was reached after sampling parental attitudes toward local public and private schools. He found that without an acceptable private school in their neighborhood, parents would seek another one even if it meant leaving the area. Further investigation is necessary into the role of private alternatives, whether free or freedom schools, in the life of communities.

We have briefly mentioned three areas for future research: the effects of alternative/conventional education on children, the impact of the "outside-the-system" school upon the public schools, and the contributions of schools to their communities.

The Future of Radical Alternative Schools: Both the supporters and detractors of radical new schools have been too extreme in their claims. Harvey Haber, for example, formerly with the New Schools Exchange, claimed that free schools were sweeping the country with 2,000 new programs in 1969. The figure is more accurately about 200. Skeptics say that these schools are merely "fly-by-night" operations lasting only about 18 months. Our data show that only about 10% of all free schools fail. A more moderate position would dictate that while alternative schools will go through a period of popularity, they will arrive at one of the following points: (1) They will be absorbed by the established schools, either

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[3]Donald A. Erickson, "Minority Groups and Nonpublic Education," in Erickson and Nadaus, Issues of Aid to Nonpublic Schools, (President's Commission on School Finance, 1971), Vol. I, Chapter V, 77.

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actually or in spirit. The history of the Progressive Movement in Education shows how the ideas of a few philosophers and schoolmen became standard fare within a few decades. (2) They will mutate on to other forms. Ideas which begin in the intellectual centers like Berkeley, Cambridge, New York, San Francisco, spread toward the center and the southern parts of the country. By the time they trickle down or over to small towns in the hinterlands, the centers are on to something else. We can expect the same to occur with free schools. Already in Berkeley and Cambridge, free schools are taking on slightly different shapes: the absence of thrust and format is being replaced with a more structured, extroverted, active program stressing community involvement. We can expect the number of free and freedom schools to level off and then move upward again as smaller, less sophisticated communities of the South and Midwest establish programs.

(3) Some will fix themselves at a certain point in their development and cease to change. Already, schools like Fayerweather in Cambridge have become static. We are reminded of the Progressive schools which survived: Banks Street, Dalton School, New York City; Peninsula School, Menlo Park, California. All have established themselves at a certain point.

(4) And some will just close.

Whatever the outcome of the radical alternative phenomena in America, we have seen how quickly educational innovations

become visible and influential. With the public systems in such trouble, educators, parents, teachers, and government officials are anxious to try out new programs. Undoubtedly, many of the ideas will become packaged and peddled to school systems across the country without an understanding of the issues involved. "Freedom" and "self-determination" cannot be disseminated like a new textbook or teaching machine. These issues involve the redistribution of power among adults and children, among school people and community people much as the free schools and freedom schools are doing on a small scale. It is this socio-political shift of power and resources that these alternative programs seek, and with which public systems adopting new programs must grapple.

And whatever the outcomes of this chapter in educational and social history, the participants in these new schools have a vision, a dream, however vague, of a new society. Some seek a classless, non-authoritarian, even pleasantly anarchistic world where people are free to pursue varying life styles in peace. Others envision an open society, where the poor will share the rewards of an affluent society. Thus these experimental schools are both a stepping-stone on the path to a new world, and a momentary glimpse of that new world in the here and now.

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Appendices

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Data on Alternative Schools

I. School Characteristics

A. Geographic Distribution of Alternative Schools:

State	No. of Schools	Percentage of total number of alternative schools
California	96	28%
New York	43	12%
Massachusetts	25	7%
Illinois	19	5%
Wisconsin	13	4%

B. Percentage of Alternative Schools by Types:

Type	Number in Nation	Percentage
Elementary School	169	51%
High School	96	29%
Mixed (K to 12)	64	20%
Day	308	91%
Boarding	21	6%
Mixed	9	3%

C. Fee Paying vs. Tuitionless Schools:

Charging Tuition	244 schools	81%
Tuitionless	56 schools	19%
Scholarships	219 schools	73%

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D. Schools Founded by Year Between 1957 and 1971:

Year	No. of Schools Founded	Year	No. of Schools Founded
1957	3	1965	4
1958	1	1966	6
1959	1	1967	17
1960	2	1968	19
1961	4	1969	53
1962	3	1970	114
1963	3	1971	75
1964	2		(62% in 1970-1971)

E. Size Distribution:

Size	Percentage of Schools in in category
1 - 19 pupils	22%
20 - 39 pupils	45%
40 - 59 pupils	19%
60 - 79 pupils	7%
80 - 99 pupils	1%
100 -119 pupils	1%
120 - up	5%

II. Student Characteristics

A. Sex:

Male	55%
Female	45%

B. Ethnic Composition:

Black	17%
White	80%

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B. Ethnic Composition - cont.

Spanish surname	2%
American Indian	.8%
Other	.03%

III. Staff Characteristics

A. Sex:

Male	42%
Female	58%

B. Ethnic Composition of staff:

White	90%
Black	7%
Other	3%

C. Age Distribution of Staff:

Under 20	8%
20 to 29	66%
30 to 39	18%
40 and up	8%

D. Status:

Full-time staff	1,671
Part-time staff	913
Volunteers	unknown

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	ELEMENTARY	SECONDARY		
	Examples: Davis School, Evanston British Infant School	Examples: Malcolm Shabazz Memorial H.S., Madison. Community H.S., Berkeley	Public	FREE
Montessori	140 [Day elementary "free" schools, private] 2 [Residential elementary "free" schools, private] Total - 142	65 [Day secondary "free" schools, private] 7 [Residential secondary "free" schools, private] Total - 72	Private (273)	
Summerhill	Day - 47 Residential - 12 Total - 59			
	Example: I.S. 201, Ocean Hill-Brownsville (not in study)	Example: Opportunity I, II, n Francisco	Public Public	FREEDOM
	Example: Woodlawn Twp. School District, Chicago			
	27[elementary "community" schools, private]	24 [secondary "community" schools, private]	Private (56)	
	5 [elementary-secondary combined private]			

Table 5. Breakdown of Schools by Types.

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Appendix

Schools Contacted or Visited

California:
- Bay High School, Berkeley
- *Casa de la Raza, San Francisco
- The Community School (Upper), Santa Barbara
- Hedge School, Berkeley
- Learning Place, San Francisco
- *Opportunity I, San Francisco
- *Opportunity II, San Francisco
- Peninsula School, Menlo Park
- Right On, San Francisco
- Shasta, San Francisco
- Walden School, Berkeley

Illinois
- *Metro High School, Chicago
- St. Mary's High School, Chicago

Louisiana
- The Free School, New Orleans
- *Gateway High School, New Orleans

Maine
- Collins Brook School, Freeport

Massachusetts
- Cambridge Community High School, Cambridge
- Fayerweather School, Cambridge
- The Group School, Cambridge
- Highland Park Free School, Roxbury
- Warehouse Cooperative School, Roxbury

Michigan
- Conlara, Ann Arbor
- Detroit Free School, Detroit
- The Solstice School, Ann Arbor

Minnesota
- Falcon Heights Free School, St. Paul
- Minnehaha Community School, Minneapolis

New Jersey
- Independence High School, Newark

New York
- Children's Community Workshop School, N.Y.C.

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*Indicates public school

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New York - continued
East Harlem Block School, N.Y.C.
Elizabeth Cleaner Street School, N.Y.C.
Harlem Prep, N.Y.C.
Rockland Project School, Blauvelt

Vermont
The New School, Plainfield

Wisconsin
Family Community School, Milwaukee
Freedom House, Madison
Humanity Tech, Madison
Independent Learning Center, Milwaukee
Madison Community School, Madison
Madison Cooperative Free Elementary School, Madison
*Malcolm Shabazz Memorial High School, Madison
Michael Community School, Milwaukee
Milwaukee Independent School, Milwaukee

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Name	Staff: Full-time	Staff: Part-time	Staff: Years old	Placement	Newsletter	Film Prints	$ for schools	Program support	Print ideas	Train teachers	Affiliation	Focus	Run a school	Number of schools involved with	Address
1. Alternatives	2	1	5		X				X			USA		0	P.O Drawer A., San Francisco, Calif.
2. Association for Humanistic Psych.	2	6	9		X			X	X			USA		0	416 Hoffman, San Francisco, Calif.
3. Bay Area Radical Teachers' Organizing Collective	7	1	3		X					X		Bay area		1	144 Stockton St., San Francisco.
4. Center for Educational Reform	15	10	4		X	X		X	X		Nat. Student Assoc.			Many	2115 'S' St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
5. The Educ. Center-Peace Center	3	7	1	X	X	X						NE & NY		105	57 Hayes St., Cambridge, Mass.
6. ERIC - Early Childhood Ed.	6	9	4	X											805 W. Pennsylvania, Urbana, Illinois
7. Free University	1			X				Work with universities						150	53 Stanley Rd., E. Orange, N.J
8. Holt Associates Inc.	3		5	X		X			X	X				Many	308 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.
9. Learning Resources Exchange	3	1	3	X	X				X			Mo.		5	4552 McPherson, St. Louis, Mo.

Table 3. Clearinghouses: A National Sample--Function and Form.

Name	Staff: Full-time	Staff: Part-time	Years old	Placement	Newsletter	Film Prints	$ for schools	Program support	Print ideas	Train teachers	Affiliation	Focus	Run a school	Number of schools involved with	Address
10. Long Island Free School Exchange	4	1	2		X						Adelphi U			8	Adelphi University, Garden City, N.Y.
11. Minnesota Summerhill Community School	6	1	10		X				X				X	1	Box 271, Spring Park, Minnesota
12. New Earth Services	1	2	1	X	X	X							X	7	Hiram, Ohio
13. New Schools Network	1	3	1	X	X			X	X					31	3039 Deakin St. San Francisco, Calif.
14. New School Switchboard	1	?	1	X	X			X			Am. Friends Soc.			1	319 E. 25 St. Baltimore, Md.
15. Outside the NET	4	50	2						X			USA Can. Mex.		All	PO Box 184, Lansing, Mich.
16. Rio Grande Educ. Assoc.		6	3	X	X		X	X				Cal. N.M. Ariz		12	Box 476, Bernaletto, N.M.
17. San Francisco Ed. Switchboard		6	2	X	X			X		X		S.F. area		30	1380 Howard, San Francisco

Name	Staff: Full-time	Staff: Part-time	Staff: Years old	Placement	Newsletter	Film Prints	$ for schools	Program support	Print ideas	Train teachers	Affiliation	Focus	Run a school	Number of schools involved with	Address
18. SW Educ Reform Community	4		1/2					X	X	X	VISTA	Tex La Okla N.M.		11	3505 S. Main Houston, Tex.
19. Stonesoup School, Inc.	5	5	2					X	X			S.E.		6	Rt. 1, Box 424, Longwood, Fla.
20. Teacher Drop-out Center	2		2	X	X							USA		1500	Box 521, Amherst, Mass.
21. a) Unschool Ed. Services Corp. & b) Unschool of New Haven	2	15	1	a) corp task X	a) corp X	b) unschool task X			a) corp X	b) unschool X		N.E.	X b)unschool	1	P.O. Box 1126 New Haven, Conn.
22. Vocations for Social Change	1	3	1-1/2	X		X		X	X	X		Mich		1	1139 Student Services, Michigan State U, E. Lansing, Michigan
Total:	73	126		11	17	6	10	10	1	6					

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